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THE LIFE

OF

MARTIN LUTHER.

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MARTIN LUTHER.

BY

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CHAPTER V.

FROM THE SPRING OF 1523, TO THE 24TH JUNE, 1526.

THE Recess of the first Diet of Nuremberg divides two dis- 1523.
tinct periods in the history of the Reformation—the period of caution and backwardness, when ardent aspirations were kept in check, and overt changes discountenanced, from that of open separation and energetic warfare against papal pretensions. "For four years," Luther subsequently said, "I taught faith and love, before I carried into execution the deductions consequent from such teaching." But it was now necessary that theory should be followed by practice, and obedience should be grafted upon faith. He declared, that sufficient indulgence had been shown to the weak; that both kinds in the Lord's Supper must henceforth be freely given and received; the Gospel must have free course; and those who opposed it could no longer be deemed weak but perverse. He appears, in the transactions now to be recorded, as a spiritual father in the midst of converts, who from all parts, and of all ranks, look up to him for guidance. Like an apostle in the primitive time, he writes letters to the various evangeli-

1523. cal communities to confirm and strengthen their faith; importuned on all hands, he yet finds leisure to arrange the multifarious points of dispute on which his judgment is consulted; he consolidates the acquisitions to the Gospel; he regulates the distribution of church property; frames formulas for the ordination of ministers and the celebration of worship, and organises the entire system of the Lutheran Church.

Social changes, as might be supposed, took the lead of liturgical and ecclesiastical. On the 28th March, Luther addressed his "Admonition to the Teutonic Order to shun false continence, and cling to the true continence of the married state." He told the Teutonic knights that he trusted they would set the other orders a great, excellent, and powerful example, by being the first to violate the rule of celibacy, whereby incontinence would be diminished, and the fruit of the Gospel increase and ripen. Greater acceptability and usefulness would redound to the Teutonic Order; for, whilst celibacy remained in force, every husband had to watch over the honour of his wife and daughters. What confidence could be placed in the unmarried, when even married men had enough to do to stand firm in their plighted faith! The treatise then insisted on the scriptural obligation to matrimony from the primary declaration of God—"It is not good for man to be alone." If councils sanctioned celibacy, God must be allowed to be older than all councils; and if custom were appealed to, the example of Adam constituted the oldest custom. Nearly about the same time Luther published some strictures, in the same spirit, on a sermon which had been preached on occasion of a nun's taking the veil. These decided views on the subject of matrimony had called again into the field an old antagonist, Faber, the Vicar of the Bishop of Constance, in favour of celibacy, who indited a

great Latin book, which obtained the patronage of Duke George. The task of replying to "the archfool Faber, that notorious fornicator," Luther delegated to Jonas, with the expression of his hope that his wife would love him warmly, in proportion to the warmth and cogency of argument with which he defended the married state. But in the month of August he himself gave to the world an exposition of the 7th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, which formed, what the Papists conceived to be, their scriptural stronghold in this matrimonial controversy. 1523.

The return to social life which had begun with the parochial clergy, and thence, extended to the monks, was soon no longer restricted to the male sex; nuns, in their grated cells, read the works of Luther, and conceived an abhorrence of their cloistered seclusion. Tuesday in Easter week, the 7th April, nine nuns from the convent of Nimptsch, near Grimma, were conveyed by Leonard Koppe, and two other citizens of Torgau, who had aided their escape, to Wittenberg, and placed under the protection of Luther. The Papists exclaimed that "it was a thing unheard of, against all laws and canons, rendered more audacious by Torgau being the usual residence of the Elector; and worst of all, it was the sacred week, during the commemoration of Christ's passion, that the ravishment"—so Cochlæus denominates the escape—"had been perpetrated!" The Lutherans on their side, and the Reformer, declared that such a release could not have been accomplished at a more appropriate season than that commemorative of the Saviour's breaking for ever the yoke of servile bondage. In a justificatory letter addressed to Koppe, he proclaimed the facts of the escape to the world, in justice to the maidens, to Koppe, and to himself, and published the names of the nuns, who were all of noble birth—Magdalen Staupitzin, Elizabeth Kanitzin, Bronica and Margaret Zes-

1523. chau, Laneta Golis, Ave Grotschin, Catherine Bora, Ave and Margaret Schonfeld. The Word of God, he insisted, was not read in the monasteries, and therefore how was it possible that continence should flourish there? Continence was not so common as cloisters were; on the contrary, it was a gift of such peculiar, nay, of such extraordinary rarity, that prayers could not be offered to obtain it, except with great caution, without tempting God. The friends of the nuns were immediately informed by Luther of their escape from the cloister, and their present place of sojourn, in order that they might send and fetch them home. Those whose friends should not be willing to receive them, Luther resolved to settle in honourable marriage, with such pecuniary help as he could find, and maintain them until their destiny should be determined. He wrote to Spalatin to beg assistance from the Elector for this purpose, and, anticipating Frederic's reluctance to contribute openly to such an object, promised to "keep it nicely snug, and tell no one, if he would but aid those apostate virgins." *

The example of the nine noble nuns of Nimptsch was not likely to be without its effect; and in June of the same year, sixteen nuns escaped from the convent of Widerstetten, in the dominions of the Counts of Mansfeld. "What will happen next!" Luther exclaimed, in a letter relating the circumstances to Spalatin. "You must begin at last, and take a wife! I marvel at the counsels of God: I—who thought I knew something of his way—am compelled to go back to my rudiments." The Abbot of Hirsfeld, although a Romanist, won golden opinions from Luther, by issuing an order that whatever monk or nun under his jurisdiction might desire to quit

* "O ich wills fein heimlich halten und niemands sagen."—Letter of April 22.

the monastery, should be at liberty to do so. Most of the 1523.
liberated or escaped monks and nuns bent their steps to Wittenberg, and sought the help of Luther, who quickly found this new care, superadded to his other labours, besides the encroachment on his scanty means, far from being an easy burden. "I am immersed in business little worthy of me," he wrote to Wolfgang Stein, in a letter requesting him to interest himself with the Elector for the bearer, a monk. "The monks and nuns who have deserted their convents," he wrote to Œcolampadius, "steal many hours of my time to serve their necessity." And a little later he complains to Spalatin, "It is most troublesome to me that such a crowd of runaway monks flock to Wittenberg, and what is worse, immediately marry, without aptitude for any sort of employment."

The Prior and himself, the only tenants of the old Augustine monastery, were both so poor, that there is a letter of Luther's of this period, soliciting from Spalatin the payment of a bill for malt, which the Prior could not discharge. "The money-bag has a great hole in it and will not be mended;" and "I," he added, "have fooled away so much money on the fugitive monks and nuns, that I cannot offer any contribution." And indeed he was indebted to electoral liberality, measured through the dilatory fingers of treasurers and agents, for whatever luxuries he enjoyed in diet or dress. His writings he never sold; but, on the contrary, speaks on one occasion of publishing a treatise, "though weary of writing to feed Luke's printing press." And the Wittenberg people, his "Capernaumites," as he styles them, were so close-fisted, that he bitterly complained of not being able even to borrow ten florins to help a poor citizen.

Such accumulated anxieties and toil—for all the while the translation of the Bible was going forward, and Deuteronomy was finished in May—overwrought the Reformer's bodily

1523. powers: and in March or April his correspondence apprises us that he is suffering from a fever—a fever caught in leaving the bath—and wishing that God would grant him the release of death. His feelings generally, at this time, are expressed by him in these words: "I nauseate public life, and sigh with all my heart for a desert." But the illness was not of long continuance. A little later he made a brief journey from Wittenberg to honour the nuptials of Wenceslaus Link by his presence, and at the end of April he was at Borna, and thence he proceeded to Weimar, and before the 17th had returned home. Wherever he went some business demanded his attention, or crowds assembled to hear him preach. Re-engaged in his routine of academical duties, we find him complaining of the unhappy influence of the multiplicity of business on his spiritual state. The inroads made on his time scarcely allowed him space for prayer; and he exhorted his friends to pray earnestly for him, for he "was in danger, after having begun in the Spirit, to be consumed by the flesh."

The Elector had made a communication to him of the Article in the Recess of the Diet against anything new being written or printed in the interval before the meeting of the Council, with a request that Luther and his adherents would comply with this decree. To this communication the Reformer returned answer on the 29th May, that it was not his wish to write, teach, or preach anything tending to disunion or tumult, against which he had often written and preached, but only what might conduce to the establishment and honour of God's Word, and of the holy true faith, and the love of one's neighbour. He had returned from his Patmos to Wittenberg at his own hazard, without the Elector's knowledge. He should himself be well disposed to abstain from all further writing, especially of an acrimonious kind, but his adversaries continued to assail him; in parti-

cular, John Faber had written "a big Latin book" against him, 1523.
recently printed at Leipsic; and Emser had published a book in German, full of manifold blasphemy, not only of his christian name, but of the holy Gospel. His Grace, and all christian men, might estimate how unfair it was that his adversaries' writings should be allowed, and his own writings in answer should be forbidden. He trusted that his Grace would graciously receive his reply, and if it pleased his Grace, suffer it to go further. His dealings might be exposed to the whole world, and he was not ashamed of his cause, or of God's Word. But in a letter, two months later, to Spalatin, he says, "I have not and shall not publish anything till it has been examined and approved by others, that I may not infringe the mandate."

In the midst of these varied cares and labours, tidings of the death of Sickingen were received by Luther, and filled him with grief and awe of the divine judgments. In the preceding autumn Sickingen had been compelled to abandon his attempts against Treves, and had retreated with his followers within his own dominions, and shut himself in his fortress of Landstein. Here he was besieged in turn by the fiery young Landgrave of Hesse, accompanied by the Elector of Treves and the Palatinate; and a cannon was pointed by the hand of the Landgrave himself with so much dexterity, that the whole of a newly-built tower was reduced to a heap of ruins; and, whilst Sickingen, leaning on a battering-ram, was surveying the work of demolition, a bolt from a culverin struck him, and forced him with great violence against an obtruding beam. The castle was surrendered; and the victorious princes, entering its shattered walls, found Sickingen disabled, and dying in the donjon. "What had I done, Frank," exclaimed the Elector of Treves, as he walked up to where the humbled chieftain lay, "that you attacked me and my

1523. poor subjects in my See?" "And what had I done," inquired the Landgrave of Hesse, "that you plundered my land ere I had attained man's estate?" "I shall soon answer," the dying man replied, "before a higher tribunal;" and not long afterwards expired, having refused to confess to a priest, on the plea that he had already confessed to God in his heart.

This catastrophe broke up the confederacy of the warlike party of the Reformation, and dispersed the principal members of it in various directions. Hutten fled to Switzerland; tried, but in vain, to interest Erasmus at Basle in his behalf; and as his last literary effort, vented a bitter writing against that summer-friend, alike an apostate from faith and friendship. Wandering from spot to spot, ill and dejected, carrying with him only a pen, he had nothing for his subsistence beyond the pittances which some literary friends bestowed. Disease preying with increased violence upon him, having tried by the advice of Zwingle the warm baths of Kussnacht, but in vain, he sought the aid of a pastor, skilled in the healing art, residing at Ufnau, on the Lake of Zurich. It was the close of his wanderings; for in the island of the lake he breathed his last. Such lamentable events sufficiently proved the wisdom of Luther in rejecting the intervention of the sword. "I have just heard," he remarked in a letter to Spalatin, "the true and piteous tale of Sickingen's disasters and end: God is a just Judge, but unsearchable."

On the 10th June Luther published, in contrast to the system of papal extortion, what he entitled, "Christ's Letter of Indulgence." Christ says, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive your trespasses." No one can complain that his sins may not be forgiven him; no one need have a bad conscience. Christ does not say, "For thy sins thou shalt fast so long, thou shalt pray so

often, thou shalt give so much, do this or that. Wilt thou give satisfaction and payment for thy guilt and be absolved from thy sins, listen to my counsel, nay my command; do no more than this, let all alone, and turn thy heart where none can hinder thee, and be gentle to them who injure thee. Only forgive." Why is not this indulgence preached? Is the counsel and are the promises of Christ less than the dream of a preacher? It is true such an indulgence will not build St. Peter's Church; and the devil cares not how soon it be built, for wood and stone harm him not; but gentle, pure hearts—these cause him the heart-ache! Not that I reject Romish indulgence, but that I would have each thing rated at its true worth; and when thou canst have good gold for nothing, do not prize copper as more precious than gold; beware of mere paint and glitter. 1523.

Various attacks at different times had been made by the Reformer against the "Sanctification of Amaziah," "The Bethaven of All Saints," or "The Abomination of Tophet," as he termed the Elector's favourite endowment at Wittenberg, and styled the canons themselves "the priests of Jeroboam." A portion of the ecclesiastics connected with this cathedral establishment were opposed to the idolatry of the votive mass, and the other Romish rites which were still maintained there after all the other churches of Wittenberg had adopted the evangelical worship. And even as early as October, 1521—when Luther thundered against the mass from the Wartburg—complaints had been made to the Elector that there was a deficiency in the complement of the priests for chanting masses. Luther continued to warn both Spalatin and the canons themselves against the maintenance of this most objectionable feature in Popery. In February, 1523, the Dean of the greater choir, who had been devotedly attached to the old ritual, died; and then Jonas,

1523. the Provost, declaimed from the pulpit against the chanting the vigils and the votive masses, quoting many letters of Luther on the subject. On the 4th March, application was made to the Elector to know his pleasure on the abrogation or retention of the ceremonies and services which occasioned so much offence; to which it was answered, that they must either be retained, or sufficient grounds shown for their abrogation. Thus the old rites were continued. But on the 11th July Luther addressed a solemn letter to the canons, calling on them to "obey God rather than man," and reminding them that it was no satisfactory answer that the Elector prohibited any alteration or did not prohibit it. It was an awful thing to bear the name of Christ, and not to be Christians; for God, the jealous God, could well endure the blasphemy and mockery of aliens; but if his own people did not hearken, he was terrible in judgment. Henceforth, if they did not prove themselves Christians, he should pray against them, as he had hitherto prayed for them. But this letter producing no effect, he publicly inveighed against the Bethaven and its priests from the pulpit, on the 2nd August, and threatened to break off all communion with the canons, insisting that the civil sword which God had entrusted to the Elector gave him no authority in divine things. The Elector was now directly called upon to interfere; and his delegates had an interview with Luther, and reminded him of his acquiescence in the decree of the Diet, by which any further innovation in religion was prohibited, and stated the Elector's objections to the marriage of two of the canons, Carlstadt and Jonas, and urged that the vacant canonries had been filled up without any expression of a wish to that effect on his part. Luther answered that the prohibition of innovations must be restricted to such as were contrary to God's Word, and that he should ever preach and pray to God, and warn the people

against the mass. After this, Jonas addressed a long letter to 1523.
the Elector, insisting that the prejudices of the weak had been considered long enough; that, with his Grace's consent, the abuses complained of at All Saints had been already abolished in the parish church; and their retention anywhere was a scandal and detriment to the Reformation. He proposed that at matins, in place of the Legends of Saints, a chapter of the Old Testament should be read; instead of hymns to saints, hymns should be sung to God; at vespers, a chapter should be read from the New Testament; vigils and masses should be abolished, and the Lord's Supper should be celebrated on Sundays and festivals, if there were communicants. The Elector, however, remained fixed in his previous decision, and only suggested that the dissatisfied canons might resign their canonries. Thus far Luther's efforts on this point still failed of their purpose.

But step by step, with the advance of the Reformation, the adverse efforts of intolerance increased in severity and fury. In Belgium the persecution was the hottest, where Aleander, the papal emissary, found active coadjutors in the Inquisitor Hochstraten, and Nicolas the Carmelite, and the Regent, Margaret of Savoy. The Augustine convent at Antwerp had become a stronghold of Lutheranism; and here Jacob Spreng, the prior, and a monk named Melchior Mirisch, were first seized and thrown into prison. Under the terrors of immediate death Spreng recanted, and thus obtained his release; Melchior Mirisch acted, it appears, throughout the whole affair collusively, and was not called upon to recant at all. Spreng, however, after his release from confinement retracted his retractation, and preached the Gospel at Bruges, and being apprehended, was again incarcerated at Brussels, but, by the assistance of a Franciscan, managed to effect his escape, and fled for refuge to Witten-

1523. berg, and, subsequently, at the invitation of the Count of Embden, taught the Gospel in Friesland. Meanwhile, others of the Augustines had been imprisoned and sentenced to death, and among them Henry von Zutphen; but some women forced the prison doors, entered his cell, and released him from his chains. He escaped to Bremen, and there preached the Gospel. The women were punished with banishment. Three of the remaining monks, Voes, Esch, and Lambert—the last the newly-elected provost in the place of Spreng—escaped immediate apprehension, and by wandering in desert tracts eluded for some time the search of their pursuers; but at length, their place of concealment being discovered, they were arrested and brought before the inquisitional tribunal. Henry Voes, although the youngest, being possessed of most learning, was the spokesman. He asserted that he preferred the Scriptures, which the works of Luther had led him to study, to the decrees of popes and all the writings of Doctors: and he stated that there was no scriptural proof of the popes and prelates being entrusted with any office beyond that of ministering the Word. He declared that the mass was no sacrifice, and christian faith could not be dissevered from christian charity. In reply to various questions that were put to him, he acknowledged that the writings of Luther had been the means of his arriving at a knowledge of the Gospel; and when he was asked "whether Luther had the Spirit of God," he refused to give any answer. Upbraided with being seduced by Luther, "Yes!" he said, "I was seduced by him as the apostles were seduced by Jesus Christ." The sentence of death was pronounced against him and his fellow culprits, and four days afterwards, on the 1st July, it was executed upon Voes himself and John Esch. With all the formality of ceremony they were stripped of their priestly attire, and then fastened to the

stake, and the pile of wood set on fire; all of which they en- 1523.
dured, not only with patience, but with christian cheerfulness and joy, continuing to sing hymns to God from the midst of the flames, till the fury of the fire choked their speech. Lambert had obtained a short respite by recantation; but, resuming fortitude, he again professed the faith of Christ, and a few days later died by the same fate as his brother monks.

Luther received the tidings of this martyrdom with the triumphant joy of faith. He wrote, on the 26th July, to the schoolmaster of Erfurth, "We have good tidings from Flanders; two monks have been publicly burnt there in the market-place for the Word of God. Thanks be to God through Christ." To Spalatin he forwarded a more detailed account, written in the same strain. And in a letter intended for the public eye he drew attention to the fury and cruelty of the Papists, and their reproachful and blasphemous writings, as a strange way of rendering obedience to the decree lately promulged from Nuremberg. "We," he added, "have hitherto acted quietly; but if they go on as they have begun, we too shall bid farewell to the imperial edict—not to imitate their example, and burn and bind or act with violence (for this is unbecoming Christians), but to defend the glory of the Word with tongue and pen, and chastise yet further the papist abominations." He anticipated an increase of converts to the Gospel from the flaming piles at Brussels, and trusted that even the wavering and faithless conduct of such as had been terrified into recantation, would heighten the violence of the Papists, and thus bring down on them the speedier and more dreadful vengeance of Heaven. A hymn which he wrote in the ballad style in German, in celebration of the Brussels martyrdom, breathed the resigned and triumphant spirit of the martyr, and predicted that the ashes of the Brussels martyrs would be scattered to all lands—no sea,

1523. mountain or barrier would be able to shut them out, and they would in every place take a "mouth and tongue." In a brief but glowing epistle to the Christians of Holland, Brabant, and Flanders, he repeated his conviction that "the winter was past, the voice of the turtle was heard, and the flowers were appearing on the earth." "Oh! how ignominiously were those two souls condemned, but how gloriously in eternal joy shall they come again with Christ to judge those by whom they were unrighteously adjudged to death!" "We, in these parts," he said, "have not yet been deemed worthy to be made such a precious offering to Christ, although many of our members have not been, and still are not, without persecution." The preaching of the Gospel had previously produced little or no impression at Brussels, but many traced their conversion to the spectacle of the christian fortitude of Voes and Esch.

The persecution had also gained strength in Germany. Duke George proceeded against the Lutherans in Thuringia and Misnia by fines, imprisonment, and banishment, until he at last had recourse to capital punishment. His brother Henry, who secretly wished well to the Reformation, was compelled to banish from his Castle of Friburg three ladies of his wife's retinue, who had been convicted of the enormity of reading Luther's writings. "It is a godly cause for which you suffer," Luther wrote to them, "and none save God himself may decide or avenge it, and his words are, 'He who toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.'"

To the Christians also of Riga and Revel, of Worms and Augsburg, he addressed epistles animated by the same spirit. "The Word and the Cross must ever go together. Nothing were sweeter in heaven and earth than the Word without the Cross. But the pleasure would not last long, for nature cannot bear long unmixed joy and pleasure. The vinegar and

the myrrh must sharpen the flavour of the wine." It was 1523.
commonly observed that all the efforts of persecution only extended the faith which they aimed to destroy. Such unequivocal infractions of the Recess of the late Diet were justly condemned by the reforming party; and in the month of August Luther addressed what must be regarded, under the circumstances, as a mild and measured remonstrance to the Electors and States of the Empire. He divided the decree of the Diet on the subject of religion into four Articles, and appended his own remarks to each. The first Article declared that the Gospel should be preached according to the interpretation of teachers received and approved by the Christian Church. By these teachers the Romanists understood Thomas, Scotus, and the Schoolmen: but he understood the old divines, Augustine, Cyprian, Hilary, and such like. The words were, "by the Christian," not "by the Roman Church." And that such was the true meaning of the Article, the mandate for a free Council was itself evidence; for if he and his adherents were to hold their tongues, or only preach the babble of the schools, what occasion for a free Council? The second Article declared that the Bishops should appoint persons acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, to observe and warn such preachers as erred in their teaching; and if they would not be amended, to impose fitting punishments. Where were men acquainted with the Scriptures to be found, when for hundreds of years, in the cloisters, the cathedrals, and the high schools, the Scriptures had not been read? The third Article prohibited the printing anything fresh in the interval before the meeting of the Council, unless submitted to the examination of intelligent judges appointed by the civil power. A decree of the same nature as this had been passed the year before in his own University: and he would readily obey it, excepting always that the Word of God must

1523. not be bound. The fourth Article prohibited the marriage of spiritual persons, and subjected offenders to deprivation of their freedom, privileges, and benefices. This Article was too hard—at least on parish priests; for monks and nuns had no benefices to lose, but only their freedom to regain. Unless God worked a wonder, continence was in most cases an impossibility to human nature, the law of which was, "Increase and multiply." The princes and bishops had not acted in an imperial, prince like, or bishop like way (to say nothing of Christian like or God like) in seizing with tyrannical force offenders against this Article, and handling them worse than if they had been murderers, robbers, or adulterers: —they had disobeyed the laws both of God and of man, and followed only their own wantonness and lust of blood in putting them to torture and martyrdom before God and the world. They had apprehended, without hearing, fined, banished, and inflicted every species of torture: and let them, to their heartfelt shame, compare the words of the mandate with their clamorous pretensions. To suffer wrong was painful, but it was a disgrace to perpetrate it. For himself, the world had had enough of him, and he enough of the world; he recked not for himself; but he would implore that they would graciously hear him in behalf of the poor people; and his petition should be simple justice. Since those who did not observe the first three Articles, and would not observe them, were let go unpunished, he would beseech them to deal mercifully with those poor pitiable men who observed the first three, but in the obstinacy of human nature paid less regard to the fourth, appertaining only to man's law. Surely it was a cause for wailing and pity, when poor weak and sinful men were so roughly handled for an Article of man's ordaining, whilst strong and great people openly broke the first three Articles, nay, violated all the laws of God, (for their whore-

doms were notorious, and they raged with every kind of vice,) and yet proudly, freely, and confidently not merely went unpunished, but lived in greater honour and power. 1523.

The persecution on which the Romanists had now greedily entered, not only animated Luther in his career, but hastened the development of his evangelic church economy. Leysnick bore a prominent position in these changes. A desire was felt to reduce "the ordering of God's service" to the apostolic model, and to create a common fund for spiritual and charitable uses. To establish this fund, the goods and revenues of the convents, chauntries, and cathedrals were brought into a common chest. The project afforded very high satisfaction to Luther, who addressed a letter to the community of Leysnick in regard to the distribution of the common church property thus collected, which he intended should serve as a rule for other churches in the redivision of their ecclesiastical wealth. He proposed that those who might wish to remain in the cloisters, aged persons and others, should be allowed a sufficient proportion for their maintenance; those who preferred quitting their convents should have a certain proportion granted them for starting them in life, and for their temporary support; to those who had brought their patrimony or some pecuniary endowment to the convent, he suggested that the larger part or the whole should be returned. What was left in the common chest was to constitute a fund for the relief of the poor and distressed, whether of the noble or burgher class, as had already been done with the revenues of the Wittenberg convents. The wealth would thus be reclaimed to a charitable and christian use, according to the intention of the founders, who, although deceived in the mode of promoting God's honour, yet had proposed that, as the aim of their endowments: if the founders' families in the lapse of years had sunk into poverty, a considerable portion of the

1523 property derived from their ancestors was to be awarded to ameliorate their condition. He proposed that bishoprics and cathedral chapters, owning lands, states, and other goods, "temporal lordships under spiritual titles," should be converted into purely temporal tenures, or their revenues be applied to the relief of the poor. The convents themselves, he suggested, should be turned into school establishments for boys and girls. Luther was himself at Leysnick on the 11th of August, endeavouring to arrange the disputes which money always involves, and addressed two letters to the Elector, one from Leysnick, the other after his return to Wittenburg, to request his confirmation of the distribution which had been made.

The subject of the ordination of ministers had been pressed upon his attention by some delegates from the Calixtine section of the Bohemian Church, who, whilst differing from Romanists in the matter of communion in both kinds, were in the habit of sending to Rome those intended for the ministry to receive ordination. In his treatise on Ordination, addressed to the Senate of Prague, Luther expressed the strongest condemnation of this practice, and denied Romish priests to be ministers of Christ at all, inasmuch as their principal office was declared to be to "offer sacrifices in the mass for the quick and dead," which was doing away with the one all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ, and trampling the Saviour under-foot. The Christian priest was not made by the episcopal tonsure or anointing: he was not born of the flesh, but of the Spirit. Christ being the great high priest, all Christians, as his brethren, were priests also with him. To preach the Word, the noblest and most important office of the priest, to baptize, to consecrate the Eucharist, to grant absolution, to offer their bodies a spiritual sacrifice—the only sacrifice they could offer—to pray for others, to exercise judg-

ment on points of doctrine, were privileges appertaining to all 1523.
true Christians in common. But still, though the right to the public ministry was common to all, the functions must not be undertaken by any one at his individual discretion, without a call from the general body of the faithful, in order that, in harmony with St. Paul's precept, all things might be done "decently and in order." The Church had the power of selecting from its own bosom, by common voice, one or more fit persons, and by prayers and imposition of hands appointing them to the work of the ministry. And what the society of believers thus did by common consent, must be undoubtedly held to be done by God himself. In conclusion, he told the Bohemians that if this "primitive and apostolic mode of ordination" was unacceptable to them, they might use the priests ordained at Rome to ordain others; for it was not outward ordinances, but the living Word of God, which constituted a Church of Christ, even if no more than ten, or six of its members were in possession of that Word.

He had written a popular treatise in German on "the Abomination of the Roman mass," and he followed this by "a Formula of the mass, or communion, for the use of the Witteuberg Church." All the superstitious parts were rejected from the Offertory and the whole of the Canon, and the words of Jesus Christ in institution of the Sacrament of his body and blood were to be recited in a loud voice: the bread and the cup were to be elevated after the established rite; but both kinds were to be administered: and a hope was expressed that the mass, like the sermon, would ere long appear in the simple garb of the vernacular tongue. With regard to divine service generally, a chapter of the Old Testament and of the New were to be read, one in the morning, the other in the evening, with an exposition from the minister in German. A large discretionary power was allowed the

1523. minister in the selection of the chapters to be read and the psalms to be used; and it was specially enjoined that needless wearying of the congregation should be avoided. The festivals to be observed were restricted to those connected with remarkable incidents in the life and sufferings of Jesus Christ. The remodelled church service was rendered more complete by the publication in the same year of "a Formula for Baptism," and a tract on "the Institution of Divine Worship." It was the earnest desire of Luther that the singing of hymns in the German language should form an essential and considerable part of public worship; and, as few hymns of a scriptural character existed, cotemporary poets were urged to direct their talents to supply this deficiency: and with this view, Luther himself began to compose about this date some of the noble hymns in the series collected under his name. Spalatin and Dolzig were his principal associates in the composition of his Hymn-book; and John Walter, who presided over the Elector's choir, set the music. The hymns were admirably adapted to public worship, striking from the simple grandeur of the ideas, and, as brief expositions of the essential doctrines of Scripture, formed an excellent medium of popular instruction. They were welcomed with enthusiasm. But it must not be supposed that the alterations introduced into the system of public worship at Wittenberg, were arbitrarily imposed on the congregations in other towns where the doctrines of Scripture had been embraced. Luther carefully guarded against converting Christian liberty into a formal and unbending ordinance; the doing so had been one of his indictments against the Papacy and Carlstadt's party; and in his dedication of "the Formula of the Mass" to Hausmann, the pastor of Zwickau, he left him the alternative of copying the model presented to him, or of instituting a system of worship for his own church from which Witten-

berg might borrow with advantage. Although, therefore, 1523.
from the field of teaching the captain of the movement had himself now advanced into the field of action, each step was taken with the moderation of prudence and the forbearance of charity. Indeed, at Olnitz the minister was proceeding precipitately in effecting changes, and was reproved by Luther. "He is throwing off his old shoes," said he, "before he has got on his new ones." In the blindness of reforming zeal, force had been recommended to further the work of reform; and in his rooted abhorrence of such an instrument, Luther warned the city authorities of Olnitz to suppress the first risings of tumult by imprisonment and severe measures. The concession he habitually made to human weakness as to the reception that might be given to his suggestions on points of practice, where alteration was the most peremptorily called for, is strikingly shown in the caution which, in varying forms of expression, closes many of his treatises at this period. "I have done what I could. It is enough for me if one or two follow me, or fain would follow me. The world must after all continue the world, and Satan its prince."

He was again in correspondence with the Moravian Brethren towards the close of 1523. He wrote to them by their own delegates, who had again visited Wittenberg; and his approval of their doctrinal sentiments excepted only their denying the corporeal presence in the Eucharist. He also wrote a tract to show that Christ was a Jew, in answer to a very singular accusation laid against him by the Papists, and even paraded at the Diet, that he had been guilty of affirming Christ to be the seed of Abraham! Such was the ignorance of the Word of God among the Romanists! His weariness of life continued as great as the multiplicity of his occupations; and the compass of his correspondence was widening with his fame and the propagation of his tenets. A letter to

1523. Charles of Savoy, who had a leaning towards the Reformation, or Albert, the Grand Master of Prussia, engaged him at one moment; at another, a letter to a fencing-master of Halle, or a Guide of Borna, or to a nun who had consulted him about her marriage; or he wrote a petition for some fugitive monks who were starving, or for a forest-keeper who had been disabled by a wild boar in the Elector's service. The poverty of himself and the Prior in the deserted Augustine cloisters was so extreme, that, being unable to liquidate their own debts, or to obtain any payment from the debtors to the convent, of whom Staupitz is named as one, they sued to the Elector to take the convent and its affairs into his own hands, and grant them only the maintenance which they had heretofore enjoyed.

But amongst all Luther's interminable engagements, the translation of the Old Testament was sedulously carried on; and it appears that he continued to be harassed by the illusions of Satan. One night, it is related, he suddenly awoke, and saw the Saviour standing by the wall of his cell with the five wounds marked on his body: his first impulse was to rush from his couch and throw himself at his feet; but recollecting the visions of the Zwickau sectaries, he pronounced the name of Christ, and the apparition vanished. With such energy did he prosecute the translation, that in the beginning of December the second part was ready for the press, and
1524. before the end of February, 1524, the third part, which included the difficult book of Job, had been committed to the printers.

New troubles were springing up. For a time the ferment excited in Carlstadt's breast by the Zwickau fanatics had been allayed, and might seem to have expired: he had resumed academical lecturing, and Luther himself pronounces his lectures excellent. But this quiescent frame of mind had been

only apparent, or at least was very transient. Carlstadt left 1524.
Wittenberg and repaired to Jena, where he established a private printing press for the dissemination of his opinions on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and on other topics in which he disagreed with the Wittenberg divines. The writings thus privately printed were not submitted to any censorship or examination in contravention of the Recess of the Diet. There is a letter from Luther of the 7th January to the Chancellor Bruck, informing him of Carlstadt's movements, expressing his strong apprehension that "one so ready to teach, whether with a call or without one, and only obstinate in never holding his tongue, would bring obloquy on the Elector and the University," and requiring that his treatises, before they were printed, should be subjected to the recognised inspection, according to the decree of the Diet and the regulation of the Elector and the University. From Jena Carlstadt shortly afterwards removed to Orlamunde, and undertook the office of pastor of that town. It seems that the principles of Thomas Munzer and the Zwickau sectaries had infected the moral creed of Carlstadt; for in a letter to Bruck of the 13th January, Luther touches on the mooted point of polygamy, which these fanatics defended as not contrary to the Word of God. "I confess," wrote Luther, "that I cannot prevent any one from taking more wives than one, if it be not repugnant to Scripture; but Christians ought to avoid much that is lawful, in order to give no ground to scandal, and preserve that decency of life which St. Paul everywhere insists upon. I suppose at Orlamunde they will shortly be circumcised, and go with Moses the whole hog."

At this period the course of political events began to attract the Reformer's attention; for, on the day subsequent to the date of this letter, the 14th January, the second Diet of Nuremberg was opened, under circumstances not very auspi-

1524. cious to the cause of the Reformation. The well-meaning Adrian had breathed his last on the 14th September, 1523, to the undisguised joy of the city and the priests; and the Cardinals, entertaining the principle which Pallavicini openly professes, that "a pope of little piety but great prudence is preferable to a pope with much piety but less prudence," elected to the vacant chair the Cardinal de Medici, whose claims to diplomatic ability were incontestable, whatever might be thought of any pretensions to piety. The new Pontiff assumed the name of Clement VII. In addition to this event, which might reasonably be regarded by the Lutherans as untoward, the Council of Regency, in which the reforming section had gained a decided preponderance, was threatened by a very powerful coalition, the various parties to which, on dissimilar grounds, alike desired its extinction. The Council had proposed a system of import duties, the proceeds to be applied for the maintenance of the executive power; in other words, for its own maintenance: and, indeed, the most enlightened German historians are of opinion, that, if this project had passed into law, the best results would have followed, and the unity of Germany in all probability would have been attained. It met, however, with violent opposition from the cities, deputies from which had visited Charles in Spain in the month of August of the preceding year, and, by exerting their short-sighted efforts to overthrow the plan, had commenced the attack against the Council. Charles objected to the petitioners, that the cities were infected with Lutheranism; but this they denied, and threw out in return a hint, which was soon seen to answer its end, that the Council might, at some future day, furnish efficient support to the ambition of his brother Ferdinand. Charles needed money for his campaigns, and the cities were willing to buy off the obnoxious project by a liberal gratuity; and thus a union was cemented

to serve an object to which the Emperor's arbitrary maxims 1524.
must in themselves have easily disposed him. Hannart, the Imperial envoy to the Diet, started for Germany with an explicit understanding of his master's will in the matter of the Council of Regency. Unfortunately, too, the Princes who had demolished Sickingen's stronghold, and broken the power of the knights, having been led by their successes into various illegal acts, had provoked the animadversions of the Council, and, in their resentment of this check on their licence, were eager to add their influence in aid of the machinations of its opponents. The patron, and in fact the originator, of this representative scheme was Frederic of Saxony. A central executive power—a starting-point for national unity and constitutional government—had been the day-dream of his life; but such patronage was not adapted to conciliate the feelings of the Papists, particularly at the present conjuncture of religious disturbances. The Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Treves, who had instituted a persecution in their principalities so rigid that blood was shed with little compunction, besides personal motives, were far from bearing good will to a body the acts of which had tended to toleration, or even more directly to promote reform. It was thus evident that the combination arrayed against the Regency was excessively powerful, and, if the Council fell, it remained to be seen what effect its overthrow would produce on the fortunes of the evangelical faith.

The astute policy of Leo was revived under his nephew Clement VII. The new Pontiff appointed as his nuncio to the Diet, Campegio, the ablest of the college, and in a courteous epistle besought Frederic to grant his nuncio a gentle hearing, as became the scion of a house which had enjoyed the advocacy of so many of his predecessors in St. Peter's chair.

1524. Such was the clouded aspect of public affairs, when, more than a month before the Diet was opened, the Elector of Saxony, although in a state of infirm health, made his entrance into Nuremberg. But it was soon made manifest that the Council of Regency, supported as it was by Ferdinand, the house of Brandenburg, the knights, and the reforming party, could not nevertheless bear up against the enmity of its powerful assailants. Previously to taking into consideration the mode of maintaining it, it was resolved that its composition should be altered; and this was really tantamount to a sentence of annihilation. Full of chagrin and sorrow, Frederic of Saxony, in the middle of February, quitted Nuremberg, unwilling any longer to be a witness of the stormy scenes of debate; and he never appeared again in a Diet of the empire. Before the beginning of March Ferdinand had desisted from any attempt to uphold a falling cause. It was agreed that an entirely new Council of Regency should be formed; that the Imperial chamber should undergo a purification; and one of its members was at once dismissed for having eaten meat on a fast-day. So far the Romanists seemed to be carrying everything their own way in the Diet.

But out of doors the evangelical cause had not lost, but was gaining ground. Campegio entered Nuremberg soon after Frederic had left it; and this gave occasion to the rumour that it was to avoid seeing the Pope's representative that the Saxon Elector had departed with so little ceremony. Along his whole route so many impressive signs of the disaffection of Germany to the Papacy had presented themselves to the nuncio, that, although an assembly of ecclesiastics was awaiting his arrival with closed doors in St. Sibald's Church, he judged it best, by the advice of the princes, to shun any parade that might occasion open contempt, and rode in his travelling attire direct to his hotel, "The Golden Cross." The

season of Easter came, and no palms were strewed on Palm- 1524.
Sunday; the ceremonial mummeries usual in Passion-week were omitted; the Word of God resounded in the churches, from the lips of Osiander and other evangelical preachers, and crowds of eager hearers thronged the sacred buildings; the Sacrament was publicly administered in both kinds to more than 4000 communicants, and even Queen Isabella of Sweden, Ferdinand's sister, partook of it in this form at the castle without any disguise. Several members of the Diet might be marked in the crowd of listeners to the discourses of the evangelical ministers, who declared that Antichrist had entered Rome the year that Constantine left it.

These demonstrations of popular feeling roused the indignation of Ferdinand, and, in conjunction with the nuncio, he made them the subject of formal complaint against the Nuremberg Senate, and demanded that the Edict of Worms should be put in force. The all-important topic of religion was thus brought into discussion; and evidence was not long wanting, that, if the Council of Regency had fallen, the convictions of numerous members of the Diet were not the less decidedly in antagonism to Popery. It was inquired what reply the nuncio had to make from the Pope to the catalogue of grievances which had been forwarded to Rome. Campegio was ready primed with the hypocritical answer, that he had indeed seen a copy of the document in question, but that no official communication had directed the late Pontiff's attention to it, and it was incredible that a writing in such a strain could have proceeded from the German States. Such scenes of angry debate as followed, it was commonly said, had never been witnessed in any preceding Diet; and out of doors murder and mutilation showed the excited temper of the populace. Ferdinand's life was threatened. At length, on the 18th April, the Recess was published. It enacted,

1524. that the Edict of Worms should be carried into execution "as far as was possible;" * that a Council should be summoned with all speed; but, in the interval, a meeting of the States should take place in the ensuing November, on St. Martin's day, at Spires, to arrange preliminaries, to settle what books might or might not be circulated, and to reconsider the grievances charged against the Pope and the German clergy; and that, meanwhile, the Gospel and the Word of God should be preached according to the interpretation of writings approved by the Church.

It is now very clear that these articles of the Recess were highly favourable to the cause of religious reform; but at the time they were decried by Luther as much as by Hannart, Campegio, and the Papists. This is explained by the fact that, the mandate framed from the Recess being drawn up by the imperial Chancery, the clause for carrying into execution the Edict of Worms was repeated again and again, whilst, amongst the books to be examined, Luther's were specified by name, and nothing was said about preaching the Gospel and the Word of God. This mandate was sent to Luther by the Count of Mansfeld, but not a copy of the Recess itself. The Reformer published it, with marginal glosses, and a prologue and epilogue, and at the same time gave the world the Edict of Worms, pointing to the contradictory statements in the two documents. The Princes must have been drunk, he said, when they enacted such contradictions! By the Edict of Worms his books were all to be burnt! By the mandate from Nuremberg they were to be examined, that it might be seen whether they were good or bad! Hannart and Campegio took a far juster view of the real purport of the conclusions of the Diet. The nuncio engaged to use his influence

* So viel möglich.

with the new Pontiff to procure the summoning of a Council; 1521.
but he energetically opposed the preparatory lay convention of Spires, so monstrous in eyes which regarded the ecclesiastical estate as alone qualified to judge of religious doctrines; and, in their subsequent resistance to this early proof of the great spread of the Lutheran ideas, he and his partisans dismembered the German nation, and invited all the horrors of war. Clement, in his disgust, turned to Henry of England and the King of Portugal, entreating them to break off commercial dealings with Germany; and plans were set on foot in the Papal conclave to strip Frederic of the Saxon electorate.

Early in June, not two months from the signing of the Recess of the Diet, the wretched internal condition of Germany fully revealed itself by the rising of the peasantry, in the first instance at Bamberg, against the ecclesiastical power. Since the beginning of the century popular insurrection had been frequent, the result of the pitiable serfdom in which the poor were held, and the self-inflicted punishment of the disorganization of society. The present insurrection was more formidable from the religious element mixed up with it. It quickly spread amongst materials on all sides ready to nurse the sparks into a flame. Before the end of June symptoms of the mutinous spirit declared themselves at Alstadt; and in July the seditious temper broke out into deeds of violence at Thurgau, in the Bishopric of Constance, where the oppressed classes rose against the Abbot of Richenau. All this, however, was but a few big drops before the storm which fell in the ensuing year. No conviction or experience of the woes which their precipitate violence was hastening upon Germany could stay the papistical faction in their mad career of bigotry, or moderate their fury against the vindicators of the Gospel. A remarkable compact, cemented by mutual concessions, had been formed between the Pope and the Dukes

1524. of Bavaria, through the agency of John Eck. The Dukes, on their part, had commanded all their subjects, under grievous penalties, to adhere to the faith of their fathers, and declared their resolution, if need were, to take up arms against heretics as well as against the Turks; and Clement, on his part, had made over to the Bavarian princes one-fifth of the Church revenues throughout their dominions. It is thus that Rome is justly chargeable with having itself set the example of that church spoliation which is so often made an exclusive charge against Protestantism. The Pope would move heaven and earth, and, much more, was willing to dismember Germany and deluge its plains with blood, to prevent the meeting of the assembly appointed to be held at Spires in November; and he had now an ally amongst the German princes on whose cordial co-operation he could confidently reckon. That the majority at Spires would side with Luther might be anticipated with some degree of certainty: reports were already in preparation from various cities and universities on the subjects to be discussed, and the greater part of them—those from the Brandenburg territory in terms which Luther characterised as "coinage of the right stamp"—supported the evangelical views. Besides, therefore, the flagrancy of a lay tribunal passing sentence in spiritual matters, it was of the utmost consequence to the Papal faith that an assembly, the direct results of whose deliberations were so much to be dreaded, should never be allowed to hold its session. The Archduke Ferdinand had been fixed in his adhesion to the Popish side, by a grant made him of a third of all ecclesiastical revenues for levying troops against the Turks. The way thus smoothed, Campegio proposed, before he left Nuremberg, and succeeded in gaining, the assent of the Popish princes to his proposition, that a Congress should previously meet at Regensberg, to consider the proper remedy for the disastrous evils

which afflicted the Church. This Congress assembled in the 1524.
Town Hall of Regensberg towards the end of June. Ferdinand was present, with the Dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishop of Trent: many other bishops had sent their deputies: and the nuncio, summoning all his eloquence, drew a picture of the perils with which religious disturbances threatened the civil power, and exhorted the princes and delegates before him to dismiss all minor differences, and unite in a league for the extirpation of heresy. The conference lasted for sixteen days; and the results of the discussion are generally known as the Ratisbon Reformation. Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory were constituted the standard divines by whom Scripture must be interpreted: a commission, composed of lay members as well as clerical, was appointed to exercise a supervision over the clergy; the preachers were warned not to teach fables; the priests were admonished to lead a chaste life; the number of holy days was diminished; and several petty exactions of the Church were restrained. But these concessions to popular feeling and well-grounded complaints were only a set-off against the rigorous articles which proscribed the least leaning to heresy; throughout the dominions of the Archduke, the fourth penny, and, in the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, the fifth penny, were granted those princes by their respective clergy, on the condition that they would, "with a strong hand," exterminate the Lutheran opinions. And on the 6th July a mandate in conformity with the resolutions passed at this meeting was published.

The next point was to secure the co-operation of the Emperor, and prevail with him to prohibit the appointed convention of Spires. The Pope used all his influence to that effect: the services of Henry of England were enlisted in the same cause; and as, on the 1st May, 1524, war had been formally declared against France, and in the Italian campaign,

1524. which was immediately commenced, the alliance of the Pope was of some moment, little difficulty was found in procuring from Charles all that the warmest partisans of Rome could desire. On the 27th July the Imperial proclamation was issued, in terms of much vehemence, denouncing Luther, after the example of Adrian, as a second Mahomet, reprobating the neglect which had prevented the Edict of Worms from being carried into execution, objecting to the demand for a future council, and forbidding the appointed convention at Spires under penalty of the guilt of high treason, and sentence of ban and reban. Thus all disguise was thrown to the winds; and the Lutherans were clearly informed what they might expect from the powerful league of bishops and princes, headed by the Emperor himself, formed for their overthrow.

As the persecution had begun before this League had been combined, so it subsequently raged with aggravated fury. In Bavaria, Bernard Tichtel was compelled to revoke his Lutheran tenets under the alternative of death. In the territory of the Archbishop of Salzburg, two peasants, who had released a Lutheran priest from his bonds, whilst his guards who were conveying him to prison were carousing, were beheaded outside the city walls without any formal trial. At Vienna, on the Virgin's Nativity, great crowds were collected in the churchyard of St. Stephen's, to witness the recantation of Caspar Tauber, a Lutheran; but Tauber, from the pulpit in which he had been placed to make his retractation, professed his faith in the Gospel, and with great heroism suffered death by decapitation. In Waldshut, the efforts of the persecuting party were only restrained by a body of Swiss volunteers from Zurich entering the town, and threatening to reply to force by force. From Pomerania the Gospel missionaries were expelled. In Holstein, at Meldorf, in Ditmarsch, Henry Zutphen, who had escaped the fate of his An-

gustine brethren of Antwerp, and had subsequently preached 1524.
the Gospel at Bremen, whence he had been invited to discharge the same office at Meldorf, was dragged one night in the month of January from his bed, hurried, amidst the yelling of a Popish rabble, led on by monks, to the stake, and burnt with every atrocity of torture. So furious was the zeal of the League, that in various parts of the country Lutheran preachers were nailed by their tongues to trees, and in that deplorable condition abandoned to their fate.

Such cruelties naturally inflamed the rebellious temper of the peasantry, and provoked a counter-demonstration and defensive measures on the part of the Lutheran governments. The cities, indignant that a few princes should arrogate the power of passing laws, which belonged only to the Diet, held a meeting at Spires on St. Margaret's Day, and resolved that their preachers should proclaim, not the sentiments of the Latin fathers, but the doctrines of the Gospel, of the prophetical and apostolic Scriptures. It was determined that a confession of faith should be prepared on the part of each city, by their approved divines, to be presented to the congress to assemble at Spires in November, when one common confession should be framed by a comparison of individual ones, to serve as a declaration of faith till the summoning of the appointed Council. And when these cities found all their plans disconcerted by the peremptory letter of the Emperor from Burgos, their irritation knew no bounds. At the same time, the indignity of giving the Emperor's sister, the affianced bride of the son of John Frederic of Saxony, in marriage to John III. of Portugal, wounded to the quick the pride of the Ernestine branch of the house of Saxony; and the letters of Charles, which Ferdinand had been privately enjoined not to transmit unless the temper of the princes would bear it, but which he at once delivered in his indiscreet religious

1524. ardour, raised such a storm of indignation amongst the nobles and princes, who concurred with the Recesses of the two Nuremberg Diets, that even the deposition of the Emperor was talked of as a not improbable event: and, from among the Papist faction, William of Bavaria, notwithstanding the part he had taken at Ratisbon, forgetting religion in politics, aspired to the imperial crown for himself.

The spirit of dissatisfaction was daily growing; and after the assembly at Spires had been prohibited, the imperial cities held a second meeting at Ulm, at which deputies from the nobles joined the city delegates, and discussed with them the question of war in defence of the Lutheran cause. Nor did the meeting break up until a determination had been mutually agreed upon, that the nobles and cities should "not act separately in such momentous affairs, and such perilous times." Everything pointed to that complete division of German nationality which soon followed, which exists to this day, and dates from the Ratisbon League.

Whilst these important events were transpiring, Luther was engaged as arduously as in the preceding year in his translation, his writings, and his routine of labours. With his numerous other avocations, academical lecturing became so onerous that he addressed an entreaty through Spalatin to the Elector, that Melancthon, instead of lecturing in Greek, might be directed to lecture in theology, and the same stipend be allowed him; but as Melancthon himself strongly objected to this arrangement, urging that literature and theology always flourished and decayed together, the transfer was not made. The poverty of the Prior and Luther continued extreme. "I wish to know," he wrote to Spalatin in April, "in the name of the Prior, whether the Elector has despatched to Bressen his mandate to pay the debt he owes us. We have not received or heard anything as yet,

and our difficulties weigh heavier on us every day. I shall be 1524.
compelled at last to find a maintenance elsewhere." He had written several times to Staupitz, whom, notwithstanding his estrangement, he still styled "his Father in Christ," and at the end of April he at length received one letter from his earliest instructor in reply.

A nun named Florentina had been driven to make her escape from a convent at Eisleben, by the harsh and cruel treatment she had experienced, and the Reformer published the history of her case, "that the world might know what nunneries are," and prefaced it with a letter to the Counts of Mansfeld. "Not only," he wrote, "in the case of this Florentina, but in many more, we may easily see how satanical a thing conventualism is, which uses persecution, force, and blows, to drive people to God, although God will have no compulsory service, and says none shall be his but by his own free consent. Christ says, 'No man cometh unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.' Have we neither understanding nor ears? Is not this clear enough, dear Lord God? The Father must draw: but instead of this, man would drive! There are princes and nobles who are enraged at my censures of the convents; but did they know all that I know, they would think that they could not praise and honour me enough for what I have done." Letters asking his advice reached him from priests who were compelled to say mass, to whom he uniformly replied, that it was their duty to quit their monastery if their conscience could not be satisfied; if it could, in the name of God, he said, "remain where you are." A portion of the "Postils" was committed to the press; the preface to the Old Testament, recommending its study, as showing "what we owe to God, as the Gospel shows Christ's grace to us," was inditing at this time; and the Commentary on Deuteronomy had

1524. been begun, but was proceeding slowly, from the vast amount of his other employments. His correspondence alone, he said, was more than enough to engross his full time.

Beyond the more customary questions of debate, it had now been mooted to what extent a Christian was bound to obey the law of Moses. Luther communicated on this subject with Spalatin, and decided that the judicial as well as the ceremonial laws of the Jews were not obligatory upon Christians. "Neither Naaman, nor Job, nor Joseph, nor Daniel, nor any other Jews, observed their own laws out of their own country, but those of the nations amongst whom they were. If the judicial is binding, why not the ceremonial law too, and why should we not be circumcised?" One of the censures which he had applied to Romanism was, that it was a vile aping, in its sacerdotalism and ceremonial punctilios, of Judaism. But the moral law, he averred, was strictly binding on Christians; for "it is the law of nature, written," as St. Paul declares, "upon the heart." Together with Bugenhagen and Melancthon, he signed a statement of his sentiments on this point, to the effect that "the law must be preached, because Christ says, 'The Holy Ghost shall convince the world of sin;' which could not be, without the proclamation of the law. The law was for the disobedient, the temporal sword also was appointed for their restraint and punishment; but the works of the law could not procure grace, which is God's free, unmerited gift." The obligation of the whole of the Mosaic law was even maintained at the Saxon Court by Wolfgang Stein; and Luther, in May, wrote to Frederic at his request his verdict, to the effect that "temporal law is an outward thing, like eating and drinking; and since faith and love can well remain under the imperial laws, we are bound to maintain the imperial laws."

Connected with this dispute was the question of interest

upon money, which Strauss, the pastor of Eisenach, and others, 1524.
strongly reprobated, as forbidden by the Old Testament, and advised the non-payment of it, excepting on the application or threat of force. Luther wrote to Strauss that he could not concur with this opinion, and he recommended the payment of interest without compulsion, on demand merely. "The world abuses the Gospel, and is not ruled by the Gospel." On moral as well as civil grounds the subject seemed of moment; he therefore published a treatise on "merchandise and usury," in German, in which he dealt faithfully with both parties, denouncing the avarice of the merchants, and tracing it in many instances to the Princes themselves as the source and head, lamenting that, as Isaiah said, "The princes were become partners with thieves," or, as the proverb went, "the big thieves hang the little ones." He objected to a rate of interest so high that it became usurious, and requested the Elector's interference in prohibition of a rate exceeding four or five per cent. But where only such moderate interest was asked, he left the matter to the conscience of the creditor, not of the debtor, until, at least, "God should put it in the heart of the princes to effect an alteration with one consent."

But the most urgent question of the day, in his judgment, was the education of youth. "I see," he wrote to Strauss, "that the ruin of the Gospel is imminent from the neglect of education. It is of all things the most necessary." He remarked with Melancthon that the increase of learning has ever been accompanied by the increase of scriptural knowledge, and the wider dissemination of the Gospel. He was earnest in his endeavours that a portion of the convent and chauntry revenues might be appropriated to this purpose, so much in unison with the founder's intentions; and he further addressed letters to several of the parochial pastors—even to Brismann in Prussia, and to the church of Riga—to urge

1524. them to supply the educational wants of the period as a matter of the first importance. To the Elector he wrote that "he might see how schools were everywhere falling, to the great detriment, not only of Germany, but of Christendom; and that it ought to be a prime object with every prince to uphold letters." Not satisfied with these efforts, he published a treatise in German, addressed to all the senators of all the states of Germany, pressing on them the necessity of erecting seminaries for christian instruction, and providing especially for the education of "those children whose parents, like the ostrich, neglected their young." "A boy," he said, "of fifteen or eighteen years of age might now know more than heretofore all universities and all monasteries. In those stalls of asses and gymnasia of devils, many had studied twenty or forty years without acquiring either Latin or German." He had rather the conventual establishments should be sunk to the bottom of the sea than ever revived; but the convents ought to be converted into christian schools. A notion had arisen that Latin and Greek were a needless study for Christians, and that the attainment of Hebrew and German was sufficient, or even all languages might be dispensed with. He combated this idea with all the force of his superior sagacity. "If the study of languages cease, we shall be unable either to write or speak in Latin or in German. Languages are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit is sheathed. Oh, Germans! buy, whilst the market is at your doors; gather, whilst the sky is bright and the air serene; use the grace and the word of God whilst you may. The word and grace of God is a shower that passes on and returns not again."

The Popish League on its side, at the same time that it dealt largely in persecution, was resolved to try also the influence of pomp and ceremonial on the popular imagination.

Benno, who had been Bishop of Misnia in the age of Gre- 1524.
gory VII., had been canonized by a bull of Adrian, dated the 31st May, 1523. Duke George had exerted all his influence to obtain this honour for a district subject to his jurisdiction, and the Bishop of Misnia had gone to Rome to further the suit, with commendatory letters from Duke George and most of the princes of the Papist party. The bishop had the gratification of publishing the bull in Germany on the 7th September. The merits of Benno consisted in his having been a faithful partisan of Hildebrand in his dissensions with Henry IV., when the surrounding prelates had espoused the cause of the Emperor. The bull enumerated his various miracles—that the keys of his church, which, rather than surrender them to the Emperor, he had thrown into the Elbe, had been found in a fish's belly and restored to him; that he had crossed the river dry-footed; had turned water into wine; a fountain had gushed out where his foot had trod; he had celebrated mass in two places at one time; and, when the Marquis of Misnia struck him on the face, his prediction that he should die at the expiration of a year had come to pass. The apotheosis of this votary of the Papacy was celebrated on the 16th May, 1524. His remains were raised from their lowly sepulchre, and placed in a marble monument: the Dukes George and Henry, and the Bishop of Merseburg, with others of the nobility, were present; and the confluence of humble spectators—some urged by curiosity, others by lingering superstitious motives—was so numerous as to excite the boasts of the Romanists. Before, however, the day of the grand ceremony had arrived, Luther inveighed against the egregious folly and credulity of the whole proceeding, in a tract entitled, "Against the old Idol and new Devil of Misnia," warning the people not to be witnesses of an impious spectacle. "Whom," he asked, "do they elevate into

1524. a saint? A robber and a murderer, an enemy to Germany, a foe of the Gospel, and an ally of Antichrist! Gregory VII. himself was a wicked and traitorous man; he sowed dissension between father and son, and suffered the Emperor to die under sentence of excommunication, goaded on to act as he did by a craving for worldly power, pomp, and glory. Yet, by a happy fatality, the Satan of Misnia has been made a saint by Pope Adrian, who has murdered and exalted to heaven two real saints at Brussels. Thus, at Constance, Thomas Aquinas, the source and sink of heresy, was exalted to saintship, and two really holy sons and martyrs of God, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, perished in the flames." The whole warmth of Luther's impetuous nature was drawn out by this Popish jubilee; and he dated many of his letters from before or after the Feast of St. Benno.

About this time Melancthon, who had begged a short holiday from the court, paid a visit to his mother, who resided near Frankfort, with Joachim Camerarius for one of his companions. And from Frankfort Camerarius, with two more of the party, pressed on to Basle, full of curiosity to see Erasmus, and delivered into his hands a letter from Luther. Hutten's expostulations had been answered by Erasmus in his "Sponge," and several expressions had fallen from the scholar in depreciation of Lutheran sentiments, and of those who professed them; and between many of the Lutherans and Erasmus open war had begun. The letter of Luther intimated regret that such differences should have arisen, and in dignified terms of expostulation declared his hope that harmony might yet be maintained; but withal implied that nothing was to be feared from the worst that Erasmus could do. "Although," Luther wrote, "irritable as I am, I have been too often irritated to write too bitterly; yet I have never done this excepting against the perverse and obstinate. I have hitherto curbed

my style, however much you galled me; and in letters to 1524.
friends that were read to you, I stated that I should do so, until you openly assailed me. For, however much you may differ from us, and impiously or feignedly condemn many points of Christian doctrine, yet I cannot and will not charge you with obstinacy. I could wish to be mediator between you and those whose opposition you have provoked, and induce them to let your old age sleep with peace in the Lord. In my judgment, they are bound to do so, in consideration of your moral weakness of character, and the magnitude of the cause, which has long since outstripped your standard; so that, were you to put forth your utmost strength, there would be no ground to dread your sting or hardest bite. Yet I confess it would be far worse to be once bitten by Erasmus, than ground to powder by all the Papists. May the Lord grant you a spirit worthy of your fame! if not, may the Lord enable you to be only a spectator of our tragedy! Do not join forces with our foes; at least, do not write against me, and I will not write against you." The Reformer knew that the Papists, especially the Pope and Henry of England, had been plying the scholar with their utmost entreaties and largest promises to wield the pen against Luther; and such an assault from the prince of letters against the champion of the Scriptures was by all means to be avoided, if possible. By the same bearer Luther wrote to Œcolampadius, "I have addressed a letter to Erasmus, praying for peace and concord. Do you co-operate with me." But these labours for peace failed. The reply of Erasmus to Luther was the harbinger of the treatise which followed from his pen in the autumn, and which he was then meditating. He tried to vindicate himself from the accusation of timidity, and then asked, "Why deplore a disputation for the sake of eliciting knowledge? Perhaps, Erasmus writing against you will profit

1524 the Gospel more than some fools writing for you. These will not suffer me to be a spectator of your tragedy, which I pray may not have a tragical ending." In his more friendly correspondence with Melancthon, Erasmus excused his conduct on the ground of the bad morals of many of the Lutherans, the division in their camp, and the bloody doctrines inculcated by some of their doctors. Melancthon gently but firmly replied, that doctrines could not be tested by the conduct of some who professed them, and that there was not a man in the world more unlike "the bloody doctors" he complained of than Luther.

Luther's desire for peace was again demonstrated in a letter to Capito towards the end of May. A former epistle, in which he had freely reproved the pusillanimity of truckling to the whims and notions of the Court of Mentz, although never intended for publication, had been maliciously printed, and had now appeared in a German version. There were also rumours in circulation, joyfully caught up and whispered by the Romanists, that Strasburg and Wittenberg were not at one in all points of doctrine. "I am almost deterred from writing letters at all," Luther wrote, "when I see such as were meant to be private hurried to the press, and such free and familiar expressions as are allowable amongst friends exposed to the public eye. You were then another man, the servant of the Court; now you are Christ's freed man, the servant of the Gospel. I am delighted with the marriage of the priests, monks, and nuns at Strasburg; with the appeal of the husbands from the excommunication of the Bishop of Satan, and with the appointments made to the parishes. Sufficient indulgence has been shown to the weak: they now harden day by day, and therefore the utmost freedom of acting and speaking becomes necessary. I shall myself at last lay aside the cowl, which I have worn so long in support

of the weak, and in mockery of the Pope. The dead must 1524.
be left to bury their dead: they are blind, and leaders of the blind. Luther would hardly allow that differences existed between Strasburg and Wittenberg, probably because their doctrines on the Lord's Supper, in which they occupied a sort of middle ground between Luther on the one side and Zwingle and Carlstadt on the other, although they had no sympathy with the Zwickau fanatical principles, had not yet been clearly and decidedly stated. "May Christ so reign in you, that if there be diversities of opinion between us, the bond and union of the Spirit may be sincere and perfect. I am wont to dissemble and conceal as far as I can real differences of opinion —(and by what a spirit are some possessed!)—how much more this intolerable scandal and injury to christian concord and spiritual peace. Were my occupations less onerous, I would testify by a public writing to our candid agreement in christian doctrine against whispering surmises."

It was as Philip Melancthon was returning from the visit to his mother, already mentioned, that not far from Frankfort he was met by a party of knights, and amongst them young Philip the Landgrave of Hesse, bound for a cross-bow match at Heidelberg. Thirteen princes were to be there, and Cardinal Campegio also was expected. The Prince rode up to the scholar, and inquired whether he was Melancthon. Melancthon was beginning to dismount in sign of respect; but the Prince begged him "not to do so, but to turn his horse's head and go with him and spend the night at his lodging; he was anxious to talk over several matters with him, and he need be under no alarm for his safety." Melancthon answered that "he was under no fear of the Prince of Hesse, and indeed he was of too little consequence to be under fear of any one." "And yet," replied the Prince, smiling, "were I to place you in the power of Campegio, he

1524. would, I think, thank me for the service." Melancthon earnestly begged to be permitted to continue his journey; and after they had remained conversing together for some little while, the Prince exacted of him the promise to compose a treatise for his perusal on the religious questions which were engrossing the public attention. They then parted; the Prince giving his new friend "a pass" through all the places in his dominions. In the fulfilment of this promise, Melancthon composed his "Sum of the revived Christian Doctrines," which proved acceptable to the Landgrave, who not long afterwards professed himself a convert to the evangelical faith, and was jocularly known at Wittenberg by the name of "Philip's disciple."

The accession of Albert, the Grand Master of Prussia, to the ranks of the evangelical party, was a yet more valuable acquisition. Prussia enjoyed the singular blessing of having one out of her four bishops, George Polentz, Bishop of Samland, sincerely attached to the Gospel of Christ, by whose invitation evangelical preachers from Wittenberg spread over Prussia, and taught the people the doctrines of the Bible. That Luther entertained on this account, as well as others, a hope of influencing the Teutonic Order for good, has been already seen in the letter which nearly a year and a half ago he had addressed to the knights on the subject of false and true continence. At Nuremberg, the Grand Master had been a frequent auditor of Osiander; and the leaven of scriptural truth working in his mind, he submitted, in a letter of that period to Luther, five articles of Christian doctrine, on which he desired the Reformer's explanation. Luther, in his reply, dwelt at some length on the Papist pretence that the Church is founded on Peter, which, on the contrary, he said, "is founded on Christ, and is an invisible and spiritual thing; for we declare in the creed, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic

Church ; ' but we none of us believe in what we can behold." 1524.
Albert left Nuremberg in company with Planitz, to whom he had communicated the doubts and perplexities which harassed him, and received from the Saxon counsellor the advice that he should pay a visit to Luther himself at Wittenberg, and in a personal conversation open his heart to him. Albert did so, and proposed the question, "Was the vow of the Teutonic Order lawful?" Without any reserve the Reformer declared that he regarded it as entirely repugnant to the Word of God, and with much warmth urged the Grand Master to have done with false, and to espouse real chastity, by taking a wife, and to convert his hermaphrodite principality into a temporal sovereignty. There were, of course, many obstacles to an immediate execution of this counsel; but the Grand Master smiled, and withdrew. From that time there was an understanding between Luther and Albert; and the former enjoined Brismann and the other evangelical teachers, who, encouraged by the favour of Albert, traversed his dominions preaching the Gospel, to prepare the minds of the people for the contemplated change, and induce the Commendators of the Order to solicit Albert to adopt a step to which he was himself well inclined. The menaced position of Prussia, unable to match the power of Poland, and hopeless of assistance against her old foe from the German States, rendered the measure, in a political point of view, highly expedient, and the next year the metamorphose was actually accomplished, with only one dissentient voice among the knights, that of Eric of Brunswick. Albert, from being Grand Master, became Duke of Prussia, and consented to pay homage to the King of Poland as his feudal superior. On the same occasion, George Polentz resigned his castles, towns, villages, and all the temporalities of his See to the newly constituted Duke; proclaimed that the office of a Bishop is to preach the Word

1524. of God, not to live like a secular prince, and only demanded an honourable maintenance sufficient to the discharge of the real episcopal functions. An amended ritual for church services was introduced, and the Reformation was established in Prussia, which was thus the first principality of any large extent that publicly professed the Lutheran principles, and conformed to her ecclesiastical institutions.

Many other princes joined the cause of the Reformation about the same time: amongst them Albert's two brothers, the Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg, and George, who was residing in the Hungarian Court at Ofen. The Dukes of Luneburg and the Dukes of Mecklenburg also espoused the evangelical tenets; and the banished Duke of Wurtemberg had Lutheran chaplains at Mumpelgard. Luther recounted with joyful gratitude that "the Gospel had already taken possession of Magdeburg and Bremen, and would soon migrate to Brunswick, for Duke Henry had become another man." The Reformer visited Magdeburg himself, and preached in St. John's Church to such a crowded audience that many who could not obtain standing-room inside the walls, stood outside upon the window ledges. Other princes, moreover, who were as yet deterred by fear or some selfish motive from openly professing the Lutheran faith, such as Duke Barnim of Pomerania, and the Elector Palatine, yet proclaimed the duty of religious toleration.

Encouraging as such successes were, they did not divert Luther's attention from the gradual progress of a danger which he had long foreseen. He kept a steady and watchful eye upon Munzer and the fanatics. In June, reports reached the Elector of Saxony from Alstadt, to which the prophets had transferred their head-quarters from Zwickau, that the partisans of Munzer had begun their riots, were forcing the doors of churches, demolishing images, and committing other

excesses. The magistrates of Alstadt sentenced them to 1524.
punishment, but not having sufficient authority to inflict it, the delinquents were cited to appear at Weimar, where on the 1st August Munzer himself was subjected to trial, and denied many charges, but acknowledged some seditious expressions attributed to him, and that he had told some peasants of the neighbourhood and some miners from Mansfeld, who had complained of being prohibited from hearing him preach, that they might lawfully form a league to secure the liberty of hearing the Gospel.

It was resolved to banish him from the electoral dominions; but, anticipating his sentence, he effected his escape by night to Mulhausen, in which town, by the influence of the populace, against the will of the Senate, he was appointed preacher. Luther immediately addressed a warning letter to the citizens of Mulhausen :—"Beware of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing. He has shown in many places, especially in Zwickau and Alstadt, what kind of tree he must be, yielding no other fruit than murder, tumult, and bloodshed. If he says that God and his Spirit have sent him like the Apostles, let him show, as they did, signs and wonders, or forbid him to preach. I have never preached, and never will preach, without an urgent call from men, and cannot boast, as they do, that God has sent me, without any human medium, by a voice from heaven. But, as Jeremiah says, 'I have not sent these prophets, yet they run.'"

Carlstadt, moreover, had now left Jena, and had become pastor of Orlamunde, a cure in connexion with Wittenberg All Saints, but simply on the appointment of the people. It appears from Luther's correspondence, that the disasters which "such a muddled head" as Carlstadt, "giddy with vanity and an itch for celebrity," would be sure to bring on the reviving cause of the Gospel, were never absent from his mind. At

1524. Orlamunde the images had been removed, and the doctrine inculcated that the eucharistical bread and wine were nothing but simple bread and wine; or, as Luther expresses it, "the same as bread and wine bought in the market-place." The method adopted in the first instance to recal the recreant Professor to the sphere of duty, was a summons from the University that he would return to his proper post from the cure which he had undertaken, without any call, with an intimation that if he refused, a formal complaint would be lodged with the Elector. Carlstadt obeyed the summons, so far at least as one Sabbath in the month of May to enter Wittenberg; and in a letter of the 21st May to the Elector, Luther says, "I trust matters at Orlamunde will be well attended to, since Dr. Carlstadt has surrendered the cure." This, however, was but for a time: the flock at Orlamunde regretted the Professor, and he soon returned to them. And then the citizens of Orlamunde addressed the Elector and the Chapter of All Saints Cathedral, maintaining their right to appoint their own minister; to which Frederic replied by ordering Carlstadt back to Wittenberg to discharge his proper duties; but this mandate was not obeyed. With the exception of a visit to Magdeburg in July, already alluded to, Luther had remained stationary, throughout the year, at Wittenberg, engrossed with his writings and ministerial functions; but the urgency of the case now drew him by the Elector's request to the district where Carlstadt continued his fanatical teaching. On the 14th August he was at Weimar, whence he despatched the warning letter to the inhabitants of Mulhausen already spoken of. On the 21st he arrived at Jena, and with a mind more fully awake than ever to the dangers of fanaticism he wrote to the Elector and Duke John, entreating them to use the power entrusted them by God to check the unruly spirit which, stimulated by fanatical preach-

ing, was already displaying itself in violent acts, as they 1524.
would have to answer before God and the world. "Satan, driven out for a year or two, has been going about through dry places seeking rest, but finding none; but now he has established himself in your dominions, and built a nest at Alstadt, and thinks to fight against us under our own shelter and protection. Duke George, your neighbour, has been far too good and soft towards him." He described the hatred of the fanatics to God's Word, against which they exclaimed, "Bible! Bubel! Babel!" and exposed their seditious and revolutionary projects of personal aggrandisement based on the overthrow of the existing powers, in contradiction to the Saviour's declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world." "It must be a bad spirit which can show its fruit only by breaking open churches and cloisters, and burning images of saints, which creeps into a corner and shuns the light! The Jews had an express command from God to break down the altars and symbols of idolatry; we have no such command: we must imitate not their acts but their faith. Indeed, if it is right to break images, it is right to kill unbelievers, as the Jews destroyed the Canaanites and Amorites. But what use to do away with outward defilements if the unbelief of the heart remains? And therefore in the New Testament the true method of driving out the devil is revealed, viz., the Word of God, which has only to convert the heart, and the devil must fall, and all his practices and power. Such men cannot be Christians who, besides the Word, would use the hand, and not, on the contrary, rather endure any suffering, let them boast as they may, that they are full of ten Holy Ghosts." On Monday, the 22nd, he preached at Jena, at an early hour in the morning, against insurrectionary tumults and iconoclastic violence, and the denial of the real presence in the Eucharist. After the sermon Luther was seated at

1524. dinner with the pastor of Jena and several city functionaries, when a scene is related to have occurred, the details of which are only found in the records of the party adverse to Luther, and which Luther has himself charged with gross exaggerations and inaccuracies.

It is stated that as Luther sat at table, a paper was handed to him from Carlstadt, who, having been present at the sermon, in which his doctrines had been assailed, was now waiting outside the door, and desirous of permission to enter. "If," Luther replied, "Dr. Carlstadt wishes to come in, let him come; if not, I have no desire to see him." The entrance of Carlstadt occasioned great excitement, and the meal was suspended in the eagerness of witnessing the combat which was expected to ensue. Carlstadt began by saying, "You attacked me to-day, Doctor, as an author of sedition and assassination: the charge is false." "I did not name you," Luther answered; "but, nevertheless, if the cap fits you may put it on." "I am able to show," Carlstadt said, after a short pause, "that you have stated contradictions on the subject of the Eucharist, and that since the Apostles' days the true doctrine of that Sacrament has never been explained so fairly by any one as by myself." "Write, then—prove your assertion." "I am willing to hold a public disputation with you, either at Wittenberg or at Erfurth, if you will grant me a safe-conduct." "Never fear that!" "You tie my hands and feet, and then you strike me," Carlstadt exclaimed, in a deep voice, with unsuppressed warmth. "Write against me; but what you do, do openly." "I would willingly do so, if I knew you to be in earnest." "Here," said Luther, "take this florin to convince you that I am in earnest." "And I willingly accept the gage," Carlstadt replied, taking the gold florin which Luther offered; and then, turning to those present, and holding up the coin, said, "You

are my witnesses that this is my pledge and authority to write 1524.
against Martin Luther." He bent the florin, and put it into his purse, and extended his hand to Luther, who replied by pledging him in some wine. They drank to one another. "The more vigorously you assail me," Luther said, "the better you will please me." "It shall not be my fault," Carlstadt answered, "if I fail;" and with these words, shaking his hand again, Carlstadt withdrew.

A letter was brought Luther, whilst he was still at Jena, from the inhabitants of Orlamunde, "written with such a large mixture of fanatical rudeness" that it seemed the composition of Carlstadt himself. It stated that Luther had already, at Wittenberg, reproved Carlstadt to his face, in a sermon, for doing away with images, and threatened him with the displeasure of the Elector: "yet he might come if he would and hear what their articles of faith were, and, if he found fault with them, teach them better." In company with Stein, preacher to the Court of Weimar, Luther next proceeded to Kahla, the pastor of which village was an adherent of Carlstadt; and, on ascending the pulpit of the church, Luther found it bestrewn with the fragments of a crucifix; but restraining his resentment, and collecting the broken pieces into a corner, he preached on the necessity of faith and a good conscience, with submission to "the powers that be." From Kahla he advanced to Neustadt-on-the-Orla, remained there the night, and preached on the morrow, St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th August, and then set out for Orlamunde. Here Luther assembled the town council and the citizens, and informed them that Carlstadt was not their pastor, for neither the University nor the Elector would sanction his appointment; to which they replied, that it was enough that they had chosen him. Presently Carlstadt himself entered, and, walking up to Luther, saluted him with, "Dear Doctor, if you please, I

1524. will induet you." "You are my antagonist," Luther answered, "I have pledged you with a florin." "I shall ever be your antagonist," Carlstadt rejoined, "as long as you are an antagonist to God and his Word." Luther then insisted that Carlstadt should quit the apartment, as he could not recognise him as pastor of the town, or transact the business about which he was come at the Elector's command, in his presence. Carlstadt refused to withdraw, and urged that "it was a free meeting, and, if right was not for, but against him, why should his presence be feared?" On this Luther, turning to his attendant, ordered him to put-to the horses at once, for if Dr. Carlstadt remained he should depart. Carlstadt then withdrew. Luther then, turning to the assembly, demanded proof from Scripture for the abolition of images. One of those present quoted the words of the second commandment. "That," Luther answered, "is directed against the worship of images, which is idolatry; but if," said he, "there be a crucifix in my room, it does not follow that I must therefore worship it." A shoemaker of the company remarked, "that he had often touched his hat to an image standing on his mantel-piece." "But that," Luther replied, "is the abuse of images. Does it follow, because wine and women are abused, that wine must be poured down the gutter and women be put to death?" Another member of the assembly answered, "There is no command from God to destroy wine and women." The argument continued until it was interrupted by a scene of extreme turbulence, so that Luther declined altogether to preach, and, reproaching the townsmen for the uncourteous language of their letter, departed from Orlamunde. "I was right glad," he said, "to get away without being forcibly expelled with stones and dirt thrown at me. As it was, the townspeople cried after me, 'Go, in the name of a thousand devils, and may you break

your neck before you get out of the town." With reference 1524.
both to the conversation at Orlamunde, and the scene at the dinner-table in Jena, it is but fair to add Luther's own statement to the fact already mentioned, that the accounts are entirely from Carlstadt's party. "Their book pleases me much," he wrote, "for I see that men of bad faith and conscience fear for themselves, and have therefore been beforehand with their publication, and are eager to injure my reputation. It contains mingled falsehoods and truths; but as it is anonymous it must be conquered by patience, and must be swallowed, that I may not seem to seek glory or revenge, and, leaving the principal matter, to write about myself. The day will come when Christ will judge my cause." "I have been amongst Carlstadt's Christians," he told his friends, "and found out right well what sort of seed he has sown." By the 1st September Luther had returned to Wittenberg.

It appears from a letter of Luther, that Carlstadt soon afterwards made some communication relative to a public disputation at Wittenberg, to which no objections were raised; but he must have done so only to gain time, or at least, with the fickleness of his enthusiastic character, he quickly changed his purpose. On the 17th September the Elector banished him from his dominions. The congregation at Orlamunde was gathered to the sound of the bell to hear the valedictory letters addressed, one to the men and the other to the women, and subscribed "Andrew Bodenstein, expelled unheard and unrefuted by Martin Luther." Carlstadt sought refuge first at Strasburg, and there published some books, which were greedily caught up by the Anabaptists. But his roving fanaticism could not long endure the restraint of confinement to one spot. Everywhere he vilified Luther as the author of his calamities, who was thus compelled to write to the inhabitants of Strasburg in his own vindication. "If an ass had

1524. horns," he said, "in other words, were I Elector of Saxony, Carlstadt should not be expelled." And this was no more than he always professed in reference to the duty of religious toleration; for even the teaching of Munzer and the most infuriated fanatics he advised should be tolerated, as long as it did not trench on the authority of the magistrate. But he had formed the worst opinion of Carlstadt's spiritual condition. "He is given over," he told Spalatin, "to a reprobate mind, so that I despair of him. He ever has been alien from the glory of Christ, and perhaps ever will be so, all out of his insane lust of glory and praise. I fear the wretched man is possessed by more than one devil: may God have mercy upon his sin, whereby he is sinning unto death." Martin Rheinhard, the pastor of Jena, was also expelled from his cure by the Elector's command; and the same sentence was pronounced on the pastor of Kahla; but the latter made a public acknowledgment of his errors, and obtained the benefit of Luther's intercession with the Elector in his behalf.

It was just about this period that the differences which were springing up between the different sections of the reforming party—as, for instance, between Switzerland and Saxony, and again between Saxony and Strasburg, which town rather inclined to the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper—began to show themselves more prominently. Erasmus made these dissensions an argument against the Reformation; and as Carlstadt's visit to Strasburg had aggravated the tendency to disunion, and he had made a convert of Otho Brunsfeld, the editor of the works of Huss, Luther addressed an epistle to the Christians of Strasburg, warning them against Carlstadt's fanatical tenets on the Sacrament, images, and baptism, and expressly denying that he had been the instrument in his expulsion from Saxony. "Had Dr. Carlstadt," he said, "or any one else, informed me five

years earlier that there is nothing but mere bread and wine 1524.
in the Sacrament, he would have done me a great service. I have undergone many hard struggles, and would fain have forced myself into believing a doctrine whereby I could have struck a mighty blow at the Papacy. But the text of Scripture is too potent for me; I am a captive to it, and cannot get away." The great antidote, he said, to Carlstadt's fanaticism was, for each one to ask himself, "What is it makes a Christian?" But when a meeting or council of the churches which had embraced the Reformation was proposed, with a view to the settlement of the questions at issue between them, especially the sacramental controversy, Luther overruled such a proposal by a decided veto. "Even in the Council of the Apostles," he insisted, "works and traditions, rather than faith, were handled; and in later councils faith has never been treated of at all; so that the name of council is almost as odious to me as that of free will."

Notwithstanding, however, the discouragements of fanatical teaching and of growing dissension, the Reformation was daily advancing in its career. It may be regarded as a proof of this, that on the 9th October, the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, Luther laid aside his cowl and friar's garb, and appeared in a preacher's gown, made out of stuff sent him as a present by the Elector, with the message that "it might be worked up into any fashion he pleased." Moreover, the abomination of "the Bethaven of All Saints" now at last fell. In July three canons had resigned from scruples of conscience; and, seizing the opportunity thus offered, Luther had requested of the Elector that the salaries thus relinquished might be appropriated to the establishment of professorships in the University. Jonas the Provost manfully fought by Luther's side; but the Dean and two of the canons remaining rooted in their superstitious practices, calumniated

1521. Jonas to the Elector, and his name in consequence being mentioned in a letter of Spalatin with censure, Luther undertook the defence of his friend with great warmth, and severely recriminated on the avarice, the lukewarmness, and the worldly policy of the Saxon Court. In November, Beskau the Dean administered the Sacrament to a sick woman in one kind only, and this act decided Luther to enter on a more determined line of conduct. He accordingly addressed a letter to the Chapter, entreating them to have done with their "devilish ways and idolatry," to abandon the mass, abolish vigils and everything repugnant to the Holy Gospel, and so order the services that their consciences might answer to God, and their name to the world, that they desired to fly and shun society with Satan. "Give me in return to this demand a plain, straightforward, and unequivocal answer, yea or nay, before next Sunday." As no satisfactory answer was returned, Luther assailed them next Sunday from the pulpit. General opinion was very decided against them; the windows of the dean's house were broken in at night with stones, and the rector of the University, with ten principal men of the City Council, renounced all communion with them until they should abolish their popish usages. The Elector was now referred to by the Chapter, but he spoke with much doubt and hesitation. At length, on the 24th December, the dean and the canons who had aided his resistance finally gave way, and from the Christmas Day following the popish mass, the vigils and superstitious ceremonials had ceased in the Cathedral of All Saints. It was somewhat about the same time that Luther and the Prior—the latter from an intention of entering the married state—jointly resigned the Augustine Convent, with all appertaining to it, to the Elector of Saxony as the last heir, and sent him the keys. Luther stated in his letter of resignation that he should no longer tenant the con-

vent when the Prior had deserted him, but should find some 1524.
spot where God would nourish him. A legal instrument of resignation was soon afterwards drawn; and on the part of the Elector it was proposed that some provision for the remainder of his life should be legally secured to the Reformer; but he himself would not hear of the insertion of any such stipulation in the document. "If," said he, "I have not flesh and wine, at least I can live on bread and water." But until God's providence had called him to some other dwelling, he continued to reside in the old convent.

These changes must be regarded as consummating the establishment of the Reformation in the Saxon Electorate. The overthrow of "the Bethaven of All Saints" was like the surrender of the citadel after the town had capitulated. And as if to mark more strikingly that a new era had begun, and the transition-stage had been completely passed, the venerable Staupitz, the link between Luther and the earlier Reformers, who had transmitted to the monk of Wittenberg what he had himself received from John Proles, breathed his last on the 28th December. He had served to guide Luther to the entrance of his high vocation; but, as if his own office there terminated, had halted himself at the threshold. His last days were spent at Salzburg, where he had been promoted to be Abbot of St. Peter's Church by the Archbishop, his intimate friend and a determined Papist. Like Erasmus, and many others, he had pointed with his staff for many years in his earlier life to the promised land, and when he had reached its borders had recoiled from setting foot within it.

The opening of the year 1525 found Luther busily employed 1525.
upon a work in refutation of the fanatical and sacramental doctrines of Carlstadt, entitled "Against the Heavenly Prophets." Amongst the common people there were numerous

1525. converts to the doctrinal view of the Lord's Supper, which Carlstadt and the Swiss Divines had taken; but, independently of one another, by their separate study of the Scriptures. "The Swiss," said Luther, "thought the same before, but now that they have found an authority, they state their opinion more freely. I was myself strongly tempted to that error; but whether I or all fall away, it is a certainty that my present position is true." Already, whilst Luther was engaged in the composition of this treatise, the popular disturbances had commenced, and were by him at once set down to the account of the fanatical teaching: "Carlstadt is exciting dire tumults in Upper Germany." At this critical period a Polish Jew, a doctor of medicine, was apprehended at Wittenberg, who had come thither with the intention of poisoning Luther, for which work he had been hired at the sum of 2000 gold pieces. Luther had been suffering from an inflamed ulcer in the leg, and it was anticipated that an opportunity would thus be afforded to the Jewish practitioner* to test his skill. But private affairs did not occupy much of the Reformer's attention. His eye was upon Carlstadt, who was reported to be at Nordlingen; and along the line of his travels it was but too probable that fanatical and seditious harangues would stir up a peasantry, ripe for rebellion, to join the insurrection which had already raised its head in many places. Portents of the coming commotion were carefully noted and timorously reported. It was said, with the credulity of superstition, that at Babenberg a boy was born with a lion's head; and that figures of the cross were observed to flit in the air over the

* It appears, from Luther's letter of February 11, (De Wette, II. p. 626,) that more than one Jew was apprehended under the charge of intending to poison him: but he refused to let them be put to the torture; and, although "every sign agreed with the information he had received," they were finally dismissed.

towers and domes of Vienna. With his unvarying assiduity, 1525.
Luther laboured at his reply to Carlstadt, and on the 2nd February wrote to Hausmann, "I have answered Carlstadt's Devil in two books." This effected, he returned with vigour to the continuation of the "Postils," and his commentary on the book of Deuteronomy, which last was finished in April, and dedicated to the excellent Bishop of Samland.

The mutterings of discontent which had been heard in the preceding year from the peasants who groaned under the rigid and avaricious rule of bishops and prelates, gathered louder and louder, and the storm, which sundry signs of more certain indication than portents had prognosticated, now fell in torrents of fury and blood. In Suabia, and all along the Lake of Constance, at Waldshut and at Kempten, the revolt first attained to a formidable height. Thomas Munzer had travelled through Nuremberg to the borders of Switzerland, and sown the hearts of the peasantry with his fanatical and seditious doctrines. At the same time the banished Duke of Wurtemberg collected his followers to attempt the recovery of his hereditary dominions, and pushed his way nearly as far as Stuttgard; and although his plans ultimately failed of success, they were a most seasonable diversion for concentrating and augmenting the bands of the peasantry. The leaders of the people put forth twelve Articles, comprising the objects for the attainment of which they had risen in rebellion. These were the free toleration of the evangelical preaching; the right to appoint their own pastors; the doing away with all small tithes, and distribution of the great tithes amongst the clergy, the poor, and the state; the liberty of the chase, of fishing, and of hewing wood; compensation for damage inflicted by game; and relief from oppressive burdens. The claims of a religious kind were placed first, for the demand for deliverance from feudal serfdom was founded on the plea

1525. that Christ had redeemed all alike, noble and peasant, by his blood. In the Black Forest, John Muller, of Balgenbach, caused the twelve articles to be read in every village through which he passed at the head of his adherents, and subjected all those who dissented from them to the band of the peasant confederation. And when the soldiers of the Suabian League, under George Truchsess, having disposed of the forces of the Duke of Wurtemberg, found leisure to direct their march against the peasantry, it was with surprise they learnt that the organization of the peasant bands was sufficiently complete to render their coercion a difficult and doubtful work.

From Suabia the insurrection quickly spread to Franconia, and here Carlstadt was present among the insurgents. He had been compelled to leave Strasburg, and was wandering about without any settled home, sometimes at Carlstadt-on-the-Mayne, the seat of his mother's family, whence he had derived his appellation, and then at Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber, where the guilds and the patricians were at war, the former pressing on a vigorous reform, which the latter resisted. He renewed his proposal for a public disputation with Luther at Wittenberg, who begged of the Elector, about the end of February, to grant Carlstadt a safe-conduct to come to Wittenberg for that purpose. He at the same time wrote to Spalatin on the subject; and, subsequently, his letter to the Elector not having met with any reply, he complained to the chaplain of the slight shown him by the court. On the 20th March Luther received intelligence that the safe-conduct would not be granted, and with the honesty of his character he expressed his sense of the propriety of this denial. Tales, much to the disparagement of Carlstadt, had gained circulation at Wittenberg; in particular, that he had kept in his house a monk as his chaplain, who, in his dealings with the common people, had been employed to play the part of a supposed spirit, and by mutter-

ings from some concealed spot, had revealed mysteries to the 1525.
amazement of the auditory. "Oh! the wretched misery of man," Luther exclaimed, "if Christ leaves us. I divined the truth about Carlstadt. What a world in which satanical possessions are so common!" Carlstadt, however, was in a more congenial locality than a hall for disputation at Wittenberg. In a peasant coat and hat of white felt, he poured forth his eloquent invectives against images and crucifixes to the populace of Franconia, with a wild vehemence which might be taken either for inspiration or mental derangement, declaiming against Luther, and recapitulating the wrongs he had undergone. He would have established his head-quarters at Schweinfurt; but the Count of Henneburg wrote to the Senate, and prohibited his admission to that town. It must be allowed that the best answer to Carlstadt's furious abuses of Luther is the sequel of his own story. And it is no light proof of the confidence reposed in Luther by those who knew him well, that, after wearying of his perambulations and harangues in Franconia, and warned by tumult and bloodshed that the time for words had passed, Carlstadt fled in disguise to Wittenberg, and took refuge in the Augustine convent with Luther himself, by whom his place of concealment was not divulged.*

In Franconia there was no armed body like the soldiery of the Suabian League to oppose the insurrection, and the peasantry were carrying everything before them. It was here that doctrines were propagated on political subjects more levelling and radical than any that were publicly broached elsewhere. Towards the end of April the flame of revolt extended itself to Thuringia. Mulhausen was the head-

* "Fuit homo miser apud me clanculo servatus—Tractavi hominem quantum potui humaniter atque juvi."—De Wette, III. p. 21.

1525. quarters of the insurgency, for there Munzer had succeeded in gaining over the Senate, as well as the populace, to his fanatical opinions; but on all sides, at Erfurth, Eisenach, Salza, Sangerhausen, and the neighbouring towns, the rioting and pillage were commenced.

Schemes were formed for the reorganization of society, based on the universal equality and natural brotherhood of all men; and it was anticipated that, far from being confined to Germany, these "enlightened ideas" would penetrate Italy and France, and lead to the regeneracy of human nature in all parts of the world. Munzer, who had returned to Mulhausen as a heaven-inspired prophet, was civil ruler and generalissimo. "From simple Doctor," said Luther, "he has become King and Emperor." In other places the real tendency of his religious creed was beginning to evince itself in a reactionary spirit of abject infidelity. At Antwerp there were those who maintained that the only Holy Ghost is human intellect and natural reason; and at Nuremberg, some citizens were put in prison for denying the truth of the Scriptures and the doctrines of Christianity altogether; in short, everything, except a rationalistic Deism.

All these occurrences proved with what foresight Luther had warned the princes and nobles of the impending dangers, and with what penetration he had fathomed the depths of the fanatical tenets. The reports of tumults which reached him awoke his deepest regrets, and roused not a little his lively indignation. On the 3rd April he wrote, "The world has hitherto been full of excarnate spirits; now it is full of incarnate spirits: Satan is raging against his stronger, Christ."

But later in April more appalling tidings arrived. The districts bordering on Saxony, and the territories of the Counts of Mansfeld, were in open revolt. At this moment Luther did not doubt for an instant the course which it was

incumbent upon him to pursue. On Easter Sunday, April 16, 1525. he preached as usual; but, after returning to his cell, he dressed himself in his travelling garb, to the astonishment of his friends, and the same afternoon started for the territory of the Counts of Mansfeld, taking Melancthon with him. He was about to establish a school at Eisleben, to which work he had been invited by Count Albert; but this alone could not be the cause of his sudden departure on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. In reality, he was resolved to be present amongst the discontented peasantry, and himself, a miner's son, to address the miners of the Counts of Mansfeld's dominions, on the sin of rebellion, and the Christian duty of civil obedience. He preached at Seeburg, and with such effect, that his exhortations prevailed on the miners there to remain quiet. Thence he proceeded to Eisleben, Stollberg, Nordhausen, Erfurth, Weimar, and the districts infected with Carlstadt's doctrines, Orlamunde, Kahla and Jena, disregarding all personal danger; and he twice nearly lost his life, preaching everywhere the obligation of submission to "the powers that be," and generally with the happiest results. On the 3rd May he was again at Weimar, on the 4th at Seeburg, whence he wrote to Ruhel the councillor of the Counts of Mansfeld, by whom he had been consulted on his masters' account as to the proper mode of dealing with the infuriated peasantry. "The peasants," he wrote, "are robbers and murderers: they have grasped the sword in wanton bloodthirstiness, wishing to drive out princes and nobles, and to establish a new order of things, for which they have no command, might, right, or precept from God. Mildness towards them is therefore most unseasonable." But before this advice could have reached Count Albert, he had already, with sixty horsemen, dispersed a large body of peasant insurgents at Osterhausen, putting two hundred of

1525. them to the sword. But when he had reached this point in his missionary tour Luther was recalled to Wittenberg by a messenger suddenly despatched to him with melancholy tidings.

The communication which thus abruptly called Luther and Melancthon home was the alarming illness and approaching end of Frederic the Wise of Saxony, who was anxious before leaving the world to receive from Luther's own lips the consolations of religion. The Reformer returned to Wittenberg with all speed, but it was not permitted him to speak with Frederic again on earth; indeed, the messenger had scarcely summoned Luther to the death-bed of his prince before death itself had rendered the summons useless. All, however, had been peace in the chamber of the dying Elector. On the 4th May he had written by an amanuensis his last political mandate, addressed to his brother. It had reference to the demands of the peasantry, and directed Duke John to use all forbearance and mildness towards them, and to remit the duties on wine and beer. "Be not afraid," he added; "our Lord God will richly and graciously compensate us in other ways." In the course of the evening Spalatin entered the apartment, and was warmly welcomed by his old master with the words, "It is right that you should come to see a sick man." The interview lasted till eight o'clock, and exhibited the serenity of the Elector's mind in a remarkable manner, and the composure, under the influence of Divine grace, with which he regarded the peculiar trials of the period. His low chair was rolled to the table, and placing his hand in Spalatin's he spoke for the last time of the things of this world, of the peasant insurrection, and the Reformation, and Martin Luther. But all was clear and easy to his apprehension, "for the providence of God would be sure to bring everything to a happy issue in the best way." Amongst other remarks he repeated an observation of Luther's, expressing his cordial

assent to it, that "as a prince must be guilty of a great deal 1525.
of wrong unwittingly, he ought to be extremely diligent to do a great deal of good wittingly." On the morning of the following day he confessed himself, and then received the Lord's Supper in both kinds with such fervour of devotional spirit, that those who were present were dissolved in tears. After this his attendants and servants were called into the room, and he addressed them in the following words: "My dear children, I entreat you, for God's sake, if I have done any injury to any of you, in word or deed, that you will graciously forgive me, and that you will implore others for God's sake to do the same." After bidding them all farewell, he turned from worldly things to the consideration of his approaching dissolution, and took into his hands the treatise of Christian Consolation, which having been requested first of Melancthon and then of Luther, in vain, on their refusal, had been composed for his use by Spalatin, which was worn by his hands, and which he was anxious to peruse once again. Spalatin, however, entered the room, and seeing how unequal he was to the self-imposed task, read it to him. The business of the will now demanded attention, and when such arrangements as he desired had been effected, he seemed to grow suddenly much feebler, saying, with a sigh, in considerable pain of body, "I can now do no more," and very shortly afterwards, without any struggle, he peacefully breathed his last about two o'clock in the afternoon. His physician, bend- May 5.
ing over him, was first conscious that the great change had taken place, and exclaimed, "He was a child of peace, and he has died in peace."

The character of Frederic is best displayed by events already recorded. His liberality to the poor, which was so bountiful that he once observed of a person whose character was the theme of conversation, "He cannot be a good man,

1525. for he is not kind to the poor folk"—and his fondness for children, whom he delighted to gratify with the present of playthings, showed his amiable disposition as much as the affection with which his subjects regarded him proved his public worth. The Reformation of Luther had produced a gradual but a decided change in all his religious views. This, as Seckendorf remarks, was particularly observable in his treatment of his two illegitimate sons, and in the moral strictness of the latter part of his life. The zealous Papist who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and sent far and wide to gather relics for his cathedral church, latterly became a constant student of the Scriptures, and was accustomed to say that "the Word of God ought to be pure as an eye."* No one had laboured more assiduously to establish constitutional government in Germany, but this day-dream of his life had turned out a failure: his own schemes, however, had not been more signally disappointed than the purposes of God had been eminently fulfilled in him. His character peculiarly adapted him to be the nursing father of the Reformation; and although his advances in the evangelical faith were made with the caution and prudence of his character, his summoning Luther to his death-bed, and his last act of receiving the communion in both kinds, cannot leave a doubt as to the religious principles in which he died. "Oh, bitter death!" Luther exclaimed, on receiving the mournful intelligence, "not to the dying, but to those who are left behind;" and he addressed consolatory letters, both to the new Elector and his son John Frederic, to remind them that "affliction is the school wherein God trains his children, that

* On the margin of Frederic of Saxony's Bible was written with his own hand—"Verbum Dei manet in æternum"—*The word of the Lord abideth for ever;* which his successors took as their motto, and bore on their banners.—See Juncker's "Luther," pp. 66-71.

their faith may not be in tongue or in ear, but in the ground 1525.
of the heart. The departed Elector was in act, as in name, a lover of peace."

On the 9th May the corpse was conveyed from Lochau to All Saints Church, Wittenberg. A funeral service, stripped of every superstitious usage, was employed on the occasion; and then Melancthon, standing by the body, delivered the funeral oration in Latin; after which Luther from the pulpit addressed the immense crowd who filled every part of the cathedral, in German, taking for his text 1 Thess. iv. 13-18. The next day the same service was performed again, and the body was lowered into its tomb in front of the altar; the whole concluded with another sermon from Luther on the same text.

Immediately on his return to Wittenberg, Luther continued his endeavours to still the popular commotion, using his pen as energetically as he had previously laboured in the same cause with his tongue. He had before published "A faithful Admonition to all Christians to beware of Sedition and Rebellion," to which he had been urged by an appeal made directly to him from the peasantry to espouse their cause; but he now reviewed the entire case, as between the nobles and the peasants, in a book divided into three chapters, and entitled, "An Exhortation to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Suabia." This, however, was rather the subject of the first chapter, which thus gave its name to the whole. The second chapter was employed in a refutation of the Twelve Articles of the Peasants; and the third contained an admonition to the princes and the peasants of their respective errors and relative duties. To the claim of the people to appoint their own pastors, he objects that it could not be allowed if the right of patronage is vested in the magistrates. To the refusal to pay the small tithes, he answers that the settlement of that question is no business of the peasants but of the nobles; and

1525. against the argument that serfdom is contrary to Scripture, he alleges the examples of Abraham and the patriarchs, and the precept of Paul, "Servants, be obedient unto your own masters." In the impartial spirit of a mediator, he concludes his address by frankly reproving the princes for their prohibition of God's Word, and the heavy burdens imposed on their subjects, the peasants for their rebelling against their masters. To either party, he says, the contest must be an awful one; for if the princes would defend their intolerance and cruelty, they are acting against God; and in drawing the sword at all, the peasantry are guilty of a crime everywhere loudly condemned in the Scriptures.

When he wrote this book, Luther had not received accounts of the bloodthirsty cruelty in which the peasantry were revelling in Franconia, where one deed had been enacted of such an atrocious dye, that it stands out in individual prominency amidst the records of the horrors even of this period. On Easter Sunday, the 16th May, a band of peasants advanced against the town of Weinsberg, which was held out against them by the Count of Helffenstein, at the head of a body of seventy knights. The garrison were confident in their resources, but the populace, who in most towns sided with the peasantry, opened communications with the insurgent force, and by secret means admitted them into the town. The Count of Helffenstein was seized by the rebels, and a line of men being drawn up with lances extended, he was thrust, to the sound of music and shouts of exultation, on the spear-points, and thus inhumanly put to death. His wife, with her little son in her arms, sued upon her knees, with all the violence of female grief, that her husband's life might be spared, but her entreaties only aggravated the rage of the rabble.

The recital of this tale of horrors turned all the milk in Luther's nature to gall, and he forthwith published another

book, written in a very different temper from the preceding, 1525.
and entitled, "Against the plundering, rioting, and murdering Peasants, who, under pretence of the Holy Gospel, rebel against their Superiors." It combated on scriptural grounds the notion advanced by the peasants that "goods are common," and branded with just reproaches the iniquity of veiling the most abominable crimes under a pretended regard for God's Word and the love of the Gospel. "The peasants had broken their oaths to their lords; they had robbed, burnt, and destroyed castles and monasteries; for these and other inhuman atrocities they were to be struck down without compassion by all true men, as though they were mad dogs; and such only were to be spared as had been ensnared into guilt by the craft of demagogues." The impetuosity of the Reformer's nature, hurried on by detestation of cruelty, appeared in every line of this treatise; its severity gave umbrage to many of his friends; so much so, that Luther felt himself called upon to defend its language, which he did in an apology to Caspar Muller. "Those," he said, "who refrained from plain speaking, or palliated the enormities of the peasantry, were their partners in iniquity." And he wrote to Amsdorf that "he had rather all the peasants should be slain, because they had grasped the sword without authority from God, than the princes and magistrates, who, guilty as they were, yet bore the sword of God."

Happy was it for Germany that, at this crisis, it possessed amongst its princes one who brought into the field the same determination, and wielded his sword with the same ardour, with which Luther fulminated his addresses from his cell. The new convert to the Gospel, Philip of Hesse, who had been the chief instrument in the overthrow of Sickingen, had now united his forces to those of the Elector John, Duke George of Saxony, and Henry of Brunswick. On the 15th

1525. May they came upon the rebel camp at Frankenhausen, where Munzer presided in person. A kind of barricade had been formed round the encampment, with waggons and such incumbrances as were likely to prove an obstacle to an attack. The princes sent to the peasants to demand their surrender, and on that condition promised them mercy; but Munzer had sufficient influence to have the herald who brought this overture put to death. He taught them to expect a miraculous deliverance, and pointing to a circle round the sun, which resembled the device borne on their banners, declared it was God's standard lifted up in heaven for their rescue. As for the cannons which the princes had arranged against the position, he averred that he would catch the balls in his hands. He exhorted the multitude to await the shock of their opponents unterrified, with the singing of hymns, whilst "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon" fought for them. But on the very first onset the people fled on all sides in the utmost hurry and confusion; and amongst the foremost Munzer himself, who took refuge, it was commonly reported, to mark more pointedly the Divine retribution, in a convent, but really in a private dwelling-house, whence he was dragged out by the pertinacious search of his pursuers. The carnage was terrible; all within reach of their weapons were cut down by the soldiers. Munzer himself was committed to the custody of Duke George and Ernest of Mansfeld—the latter of a different family from Luther's friends, and a Papist—who subjected him to an examination, but not of so rigid and strict a kind as Luther could have wished, in his anxiety to free the Reformation from the least imputation of connexion with the seditious spirit of Munzer and his partisans. Munzer and an ex-monk Pfeiffer, who had acted as his second in command, were both executed. Pfeiffer remained to the last firm in his denial of Popish doctrine; but Munzer exhibited a mingled picture of brutality

and cowardice in his last moments. He laughed at the bloodshed which he had caused; "the peasants," he said, "would have it so:" he received the Sacrament in one kind, and declared that he died in the Catholic faith. In this massacre rather than encounter, about 5000 peasants were slain, and ten days later Mulhausen surrendered to the princes. 1525. May 25.

Philip of Hesse was now in a condition to move his forces into Franconia, whither George Truchsess also, who had partly subdued, and partly come to terms with the rebels in Suabia, had pushed on the troops of the Suabian League. With united forces they came to the relief of the Castle of Wurzburg, which had still been able to keep the insurgents at bay, after they had forced almost every other strongly fortified place in the Duchy of Wurtemberg and Franconia to a capitulation. Their combined forces compelled every stronghold along their line of march to surrender: they fell in with a band of peasants on the Mühlberg, who had barricaded their post with waggons, and put them to the rout with great slaughter; they next conquered an insurgent troop who had moved from their position near Wurzburg under a false report of victory; and on the 7th June the town of Wurzburg was in their hands. The remaining insurgency was easily put down, now that its chief seats had been captured, and its best and largest bands routed or slain; and before the beginning of July, the veteran George Frundsberg having hastened from Italy, and added his counsel to the arms of Truchsess, the outlying districts had for the most part been tamed into submission, or pacified.

On both sides the enormities of this war were frightful. In Franconia alone 300 castles and monasteries were burnt to the ground; and it was computed that, in all, as many as 100,000 peasants perished. The guilt of the insurrection

1525. was of course laid at Luther's door by the Papists; Luther himself attributed it to the harshness and exorbitant rapacity of many of the nobles, especially the prelates, and to their prohibition of the Word of God. That the Reformer's mode of reasoning was the more correct is demonstrated by the facts that, in the districts under ecclesiastical rule, where the persecution of the Lutherans had been the most bitter, as in Franconia, for instance, where the ecclesiastical possessions were very large, and in Wurtemberg, which was governed by Austria, the seditious spirit was the most violent and sanguinary; whilst the Saxon Electorate, although surrounded in all its borders with a circle of fire, escaped unscathed. The war resulted so far in benefit to the Reformation, that many of the prelates came forth from the ordeal with their power abridged, and their resources crippled. In many cases, cities, towns, and districts had effected compacts by which greater individual freedom was secured; and in other cases, even Popish nobles, the Dukes of Bavaria for example, had taken advantage of circumstances to extend the temporal authority at the expense of the ecclesiastical.

At first, however, it seemed as if the eruption of the popular volcano had swallowed in its sanguinary abyss the cause of spiritual freedom. In the Popish territories the persecution was renewed with aggravated fury; and when some fell victims to it, who had not in any way been implicated in seditious enterprises, "Never mind," it was said, "they are Lutherans, and that is crime enough." In Wittenberg, indeed, the progress of the Reformation continued unchecked, and on the 14th May, George Rorarius, whose services had been considerable in the translation of the Bible, was set apart to the ministry, simply by the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, being the first who was ordained according to the model prescribed by Luther in his treatise on ordination.

But against the Reformer the loudest outcries resounded from 1525.
all sides, on account of his last vehement declamation against the peasants. "My book," he wrote to a friend, "has greatly offended the rustic faction, but if it did not offend them, it could not please me. How they betray, what it was they sought for in the Gospel!" The loss, too, of Frederic the Wise at such a conjuncture was a change in the political world, the influence of which could not be foreseen. His successor, the Elector John, had defeated a body of the peasant insurgents on the Bidberg, near Meiningen, and had signalized his victory by clemency, in obedience to the dying injunctions of his brother. He was inferior to Frederic in abilities. Overtures were at once made to him, and also to the Landgrave of Hesse, by Duke George, who was resolved to try his utmost to convert the zeal they had shown against the rebellion into a channel hostile to all religious innovations. And he certainly had a specious ground of support to his arguments. "Look," he said, "at the carnage of the battle-fields, and there see what Luther has done." At first, the two princes made little reply to these solicitations. They had met at Wurzburg on the 20th March, principally to concert measures against the insurgents; but their conference had been communicated to Luther and the Wittenberg Doctors, and it was with extreme joy that John Frederic related to Dolzig, the Marshal of Saxony, the strong words which had fallen from the Landgrave in this interview. "I had rather lose body, wealth, dominions and everything, than abandon the Word of God." Philip of Hesse, prior to the overthrow of the peasants, had even laboured to bring over his father-in-law, George of Saxony, to his own religious views, but had been met by the answer, "We shall know who is right a hundred years hence."

The marked antipathy which had been displayed in the recent peasant insurrection against the rule of the ecclesiasti-

1525. cal princes was inclining, at this time, the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz to follow the example of his cousin, Albert of Prussia, and to convert his archiepiscopal into a temporal electorate. This design was communicated to Luther by Ruhel, the councillor of the Counts of Mansfeld and a member also of the Council of Albert; and, seizing at once the opportunity thus opened, the Reformer, on the 2nd June, wrote a letter to the Archbishop, which he gave him the liberty, if he pleased, of making public, earnestly exhorting him to the step which he had in contemplation. "God has declared," he wrote, "'It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him:' when on the last day we shall all stand before His judgment throne, He will say to each one of us, 'Where is thy help meet?' I speak of an ordinary man, who is not the subject of a miracle, and transformed into an angel." And the next day Luther wrote also to Ruhel, "If my marriage should prove a strengthening to his Electoral Grace, tell him that I am ready to set him the example, for I purpose, before quitting this world, to place myself in the estate of matrimony, according to God's requirement." But notwithstanding Luther's zeal his exhortations had no effect upon Albert of Mentz: the design passed from his mind as the popular tumult subsided, and the next fact to be recorded of him will be, that the Popish League succeeded in drawing him completely into its net.

Luther's own marriage, from an early date in the spring, had been a frequent topic of jesting in his correspondence, until at last the jest grew into earnest. Somewhile before, an exhortation had been addressed to him by Argula von Staufen, the christian heroine of Ingoldstadt, herself a married woman, to put the seal by his own example to his doctrine of matrimony; but he had replied to her in these terms: "I am a creature in the hands of God, whom he can kill or make

alive, change or rechange, every hour of the day; but in my present state of mind I shall not take a wife. I hope rather that God will not suffer me to live much longer." 1525. But on the 25th April we find him writing to Spalatin in a somewhat different strain. "Why do not you proceed to marriage? I have urged so many to the step that I am almost moved to it myself." "It is singular," he wrote a little later, continuing his observations on the same subject, "that inditing so much on matrimony, and being forced constantly into female society, I have not become a woman myself, or at least married one. And yet, with feelings so much averse as mine are from wedlock, I shall perhaps be beforehand with many of you who have been on the eve of marrying a long while. I say this to urge you to push the matter beyond a joke." Indeed, most of Luther's intimate friends were already married men, or on the point of becoming so. He had himself bestowed the nuptial benediction on Wenceslaus Link; and Spalatin was deferring his own marriage from month to month only out of regard to the Elector Frederic, who, feeling himself gradually sinking, and having been long accustomed to Spalatin, could not bear the thought of a new secretary in his room. But soon afterwards the Prior himself of the Augustines of Wittenberg entered the married state, and left Luther alone in the desolate convent. Still the terms on which he wrote of matrimony were in a tone of jesting. "I have been given in marriage to three women already; but two of them are now wedded to others, and the third I only hold by the left arm." This third, however, was not Catherine von Bora, who alone remained unmarried of the nine nuns who had escaped from Nimptsch; for she had been offered first to Baumgartner, and, on impediments occurring to prevent her union with him, to Dr. Glatz of Orlamunde. If Luther himself felt any predilection for Kate it was chiefly

1525. shown by his more frequently making her the subject of his jests in Wittenberg society than others, and jokingly calling her "his Kate." And there was nothing but this joking, by no means an unusual thing with Luther, to prepare the public mind for the information, which, writing to Ruhel from Seeburg, in the midst of the peasant riots, he abruptly gave him, "I shall yet take my Kate to wife before I die."

The fact is, that Kate herself all on a sudden adopted a step which determined Luther as suddenly to a resolution quite contrary to his long and strongly expressed intentions. Kate sought an interview with Amsdorf, on the subject of her own contemplated marriage, and stated that "she knew Luther was intent on uniting her to Dr. Glatz of Orlamunde, but that she would never consent to marry him; she did not like him. She was quite ready to marry Amsdorf or Luther himself, but she would have nothing to say to Dr. Glatz." These words were reported to Luther by Jerome Schurf, accompanied by the entreaty on his own part, and that of his other friends, that Luther would not be moved by the message, and would by no means think of marrying at such a time. When, however, he next saw Kate, he reprimanded her for the language which she had used. She hung down her head and blushed; and Luther, under the influence of her previous words, or present looks, consented to relieve her from her embarrassment and stand himself in the place of Dr. Glatz.

As for the objection interposed by the condition of the times to any project of matrimony, motives of such a kind, instead of dissuading, forcibly impelled him, from the peculiar qualities of his own character, to enter the marriage bond with as little delay as possible. His conduct in the matter of the peasant insurrection had subjected him to popular obloquy. Most persons would have thought it very unwise to afford fresh ground for calumny. The malice of persecution had

gained a fresh edge from the taunts against the Reformation 1525.
which the peasant riots had furnished. Duke George threatened to tear him away from the midst of his Wittenberg adherents, and wreak his just vengeance on him, as he had done on Munzer. But Duke George, the malice of persecution, and popular obloquy, were to Luther's apprehension so many forms of Satan's wrath. He was, therefore, according to his settled habit and principles, determined to spite openly and deliberately the arch enemy. In his own language, "his marriage would make all the angels smile and all the devils weep." And as he, moreover, believed his death to be very near at hand, he felt it to be the more incumbent on him to lose no time in obeying the behest of Scripture and leaving the world the benefit of his final example.

Accordingly, on the 11th June, Trinity Sunday,* in the evening, Luther was united in marriage to Catherine von Bora, by the pastor Bugenhagen, in the house of Reichenbach, the town clerk, who had been constituted Kate's guardian, and in the presence of two witnesses, Luke Cranach the painter, and Dr. Apel the lawyer. On the 15th June, Luther says, in a letter to Ruhel, "I have made the determination to retain nothing of my papistical life; and thus I have entered the state of matrimony, at the urgent solicitation of my father." The purport of the letter was to invite Ruhel to the marriage feast, which was intended to be given on Tuesday the 27th June, and at which the old couple from Mansfeld,

* Mathesius and Melancthon both agree in this date. Spalatin, on the contrary, states that the marriage took place on the 13th June: and on the espousal-ring, preserved at Berlin, a ruby set in gold, it is stated that the latter date is marked. On this and another nuptial ring, inscribed with D. M. L. and K. V. B., preserved at Helmstadt, gold set with a ruby and a diamond, and so made as to become two rings at pleasure, see Walch. XXIV. pp. 147, 148.

1525. John and Margaret Luther, were to be present. As Ruhel was wealthy, it was intimated that any present he might choose to bring with him would be acceptable. Wenceslaus Link was also invited to the wedding entertainment, but, as he was poor himself, it was insisted that he should bring no present. Spalatin was to come himself, and send some venison. Amsdorf also was to be one of the wedding guests. It is not surprising that the world was exceedingly startled by the sudden announcement of this marriage. The Papists vociferated the charge of incest against the Reformer. "A monk himself, he had married a nun! from such a union Antichrist was to spring!" "How many Antichrists," Erasmus exclaimed, "must there not be then in the world already!" But not only was the world up in arms: many of Luther's chosen friends, amongst them Melancthon himself, deeply regretted the period which had been selected for the marriage of the greatest of the Reformers. The world's censure Luther cared not for: it was, on the contrary, a proof to him that his purpose had been answered, and Satan, speaking by the mouth of his organs, overflowed with wrath at his bold defiance of his power; but he was dejected by Philip's expressions of disapprobation. But Melancthon, when he observed that his judgment weighed heavily on Luther's spirits, with the true kindness of a friend changed his tone, and, as the step was now irrevocable, consoled Luther under the reproaches of many of his other friends, and vindicated his conduct publicly to the world.*

* Melancthon's letter to Camerarius is the best commentary on the whole transaction. (See Bret. II. p. 754.) "It may seem strange," he says, "that Luther should marry at such an unpropitious time, when Germany has especial need of his great and noble mind. But I think the case was as follows. You are aware that Luther is far from being one of those who hate men and fly their society. You are ac-

The Augustine convent became the residence of the newly- 1525.
married pair, which thus itself afforded an image of the blessings of the Reformation on the conditions of social life: the cloisters, which a few years before had sheltered in ease and laziness a flourishing society of monks, echoed ere long to the voices of a numerous family of happy children. Luther was himself forty-two years of age, and Catherine twenty-six, at the period of their union. The Reformer did not pretend to any ardour of youthful attachment. "I am not on fire with love," he said, "but I esteem my wife." He lived, however, with his Kate in the utmost harmony, and in the enjoyment of more conjugal bliss than falls to the ordinary lot of married existence. He smiled at being told that he had sunk into a private station, and from a hero had degraded himself to a common-place character. "It is enough for me," he replied, "that I have obeyed God's command." The calumnies which the Papists circulated, without stint or conscience, relative both to Luther and to Kate, on the opportunity thus offered them, they lived to disprove by the whole tenour of their conduct during the twenty years of their union.*

The first application which Luther preferred to the new Elector was in behalf of the University of Wittenberg. The League of Popish princes had been successful in recalling from it, by the manifesto which they had issued, such students as

quainted with his daily habits, and so may conjecture the rest. It is not to be wondered at that his generous and great soul was in some way softened."

* The portraits of Kate in her Life by Hoffmann, in Juncker and elsewhere, are all from originals by Luke Cranach, and agree in representing her with a round full face, a straight pointed nose, and large eyes. Romanist writers generally describe her as very beautiful, and Protestant as rather plain. Erasmus wrote, "Lutherus duxit uxorem puellam mire venustam, ex clarâ familiâ Bornæ, sed, ut narrant, indotatam."

1525. had repaired to it from their own dominions; the professors were very badly paid; and Melancthon himself was continually invited, with the promise of a larger stipend, to other universities, and was only retained in his post by his own strong sense of honour and duty. Others of the professors were already dispersing in various quarters on labours of evangelization: Caspar Cruciger had undertaken academical duties at Magdeburg; Bugenhagen had been invited to Dantzic. All these causes of anxiety conspired to render Luther full of apprehension lest his university, whence the Gospel had anew sounded forth to the world, should fall to pieces by the neglect of its friends and the envy of its opponents. He therefore prepared a plan of university reform, which he submitted to the new Elector, imploring him to undertake in earnest the support and furtherance of the cause of learning. The Zwickau fanaticism, and the fearful peasant insurrection, had deepened the impression, both on his mind and on Melancthon's, of the prime importance and necessity of education; and he warned the Elector John that the realm of ideas was so contiguous to that of politics, that princes would be wholly unable to control their subjects without the influence and support of men of learning. Some alarm was felt lest the Elector John might imitate the conduct of his brother Frederic in his declining years, and suffer the University of Wittenberg gradually to sink into decay; and under this idea, on the 15th September, Luther addressed a most urgent appeal to him in behalf of the University, which immediately met with a response. He found, indeed, the Elector John ready to co-operate with him to the fullest extent in his educational scheme, and blessed God for a prince as exactly fitted to foster the Reformation in its more adult age as Frederic had been in its earlier stages. Two electoral commissioners were despatched to Wittenberg in

October, to arrange the matter of University lectures, settle 1525.
the salaries of the professors, and institute such changes as were desirable in the church ritual. The number of canonries that were found to be filled up in the cathedral was only eighteen out of eighty in all, and thus there was a large fund at hand which could be devoted to the augmentation of the salaries of professors. Luther, indeed, did not hesitate to assert, that the care expended on the University at this period saved it from total ruin. Since the end of March a mass service arranged by Luther, partly in German, had been used in the parish church; and from the 29th October it was determined that the mass should be solemnised in All Saints Cathedral on Sundays in German; on week days the Latin formula was to be still adhered to. The two points of university reform and church ceremonial having been arranged, Luther did not allow the Elector's zeal to cool; but, on the 31st October, addressed a letter to him, praying that the subject of the incomes of the parochial clergy, who, in many cases, were in the extreme of poverty from the cessation of offerings and the downfall of the system of the mass, might be carefully considered, and a visitation of the whole Saxon Electorate for this and other ecclesiastical objects be instituted. These commissioners were to traverse the whole province, examine into the conditions and characters of the clergy, obtain information on the ancient and present revenues of the churches, and introduce such alterations in the services as the Scriptures demanded. Somewhat later this commission was appointed, and entered upon its most important functions. But, indeed, so resolute was John himself in the cause he had espoused, that at the end of August, before quitting Weimar, he had warned the clergy to "teach the pure Word of God only, without human additions." And when some of the elder ecclesiastics inquired, "May we not say mass for the dead, or

1525. consecrate water?" "Everything," he replied, "must be conformed to the Word of God." The civil government of John was less strict than Frederic's had been, and the courtiers took advantage of his mildness, and, in revenge for the overthrow of the monasteries, which bowed the pride of many noble houses, put such impediments as they could in the way of the progress of the Reformation. They were even so hostile to Luther personally, that he made it an excuse to Spalatin for not attending his marriage in December, that he dared not travel, "for his Kate retained him with her tears." But, notwithstanding the disposition of the Court, the new Elector, as characterised by Luther, was "a most excellent and christian prince." "Frederic," the Papists said, "did at least keep the monk under some kind of check, but with John he has everything his own way."

Luther was gratified by John's acceding to his request on a very different subject, on which he certainly could not have obtained the same favour from Frederic. It is not stated at what time Carlstadt had quitted the safe asylum which he had found with Luther during the riots of the peasantry; but after he had done so, he could find "no rest for the sole of his foot," but wandered about destitute of resources, and uncertain of a night's lodging. In this wretched plight he appealed again to Luther, and besought his supplication to the Elector in his favour, that he might be permitted to return and live within the bounds of Saxony. Luther obtained from John all that Carlstadt asked, on the condition that he would abstain from preaching and writing for the rest of his life. Carlstadt accepted the condition, and took up his residence first at Segren, and soon afterwards at Kemberg, and engaged in the cultivation of land, of which Cochlæus states he quickly gave convincing proofs of his utter ignorance. He abjured, in a letter addressed to the

Elector, the religious opinions imputed to him, stating, that 1525.
what he had advanced relative to the Lord's Supper had been with a view to eliciting information not to declare his own belief, and he solemnly asseverated that he was quite innocent of having ever intended to incite the peasants to revolt. This retractation was published with a preface from Luther, who was now fully satisfied of Carlstadt's innocence on his solemn assurance, and requested the public to give the same implicit credit as he had himself given to his protestations.

But Carlstadt's sacramental doctrines were rapidly spreading, and the disunion thus caused in the reforming camp occasioned Luther a great deal of uneasiness. The Papists were laying hold upon such disunion as an argument with the wavering and weak-minded against the Reformation. Zwingle maintained that, whereas three bodies were spoken of in Scripture as appertaining to Christ—the body in which he suffered, his glorified body, and his mystical body, or the Church—no one of these could be said to be present in the Lord's Supper. He considered that the word "is," in the proposition, "this is my body," was synonymous, with "this signifies or denotes my body." Œcolampadius, agreeing with Zwingle in his doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist being only spiritual, explained the Saviour's words by finding a metaphor in the word body. On the other hand, Bugenhagen had defended Luther's view of the corporeal presence; and Dr. Brentz, or some other theologian of distinction, had composed, on the part of fourteen preachers of Halle, the "Syngramma" on the same side, which was translated into German by Bugenhagen, and published with a preface from Luther himself, who greatly admired it. The Strasburg theologians occupied a middle position, and endeavoured to prevent that separation in the reforming party which was so much to be apprehended, by representing the divergency as

1525. trifling and unimportant. But Luther himself would by no means consent to such a view of the subject; he reprobated, moreover, Zwingle's ideas on original sin, and declared that, zealous as he was for peace, he would have no peace that was not built upon truth, and that "either he or his opponents must be the ministers of Satan—there could be no middle ground."

For the present, however, he had enough upon his hands in a controversy of a different kind. Erasmus had been gradually separating himself more and more from the Lutheran party, and had had some angry passages about his treatment of Hutten, and various other proofs of timidity, which his conduct had afforded, with Brunsfeld, the editor of the works of Huss, Farel, and others of the more extreme section of the Reformers. This, added to the entreaties of many crowned heads that he would use his pen against Luther, had induced him to compose a treatise on "the Freedom of the Will," in opposition to the evangelical tenet on the subject, which had been so severely censured by Duke George, and by the Papist party generally, as tending to confirm men in sin, and which naturally enough grated very harshly on the notions of a rationalistic divine such as Erasmus. The controversy was much the same as that which had before been waged between Eck and Carlstadt in Pleissenburg Castle. Erasmus' work had been published a year before, and a month after its publication, Luther had only read three or four pages of it. Indeed, the controversy seemed very reluctantly entered into on both sides. Erasmus professed that he had never written anything so much against his free will, as his tract on Free Will; and as it was generally supposed the movement of his pen had been facilitated by presents and promises, he was bantered by the Reformers as a Balaam hired to curse Israel. Luther, on his part, regretted to have to reply to "the so learned work of so

learned a man," and declared, "I abhor the very name of free 1525.
will." He now spent some weeks, and, if Erasmus' statement may be credited, his honey-moon, in composing his counter treatise on "the Slavery of the Will." On no previous composition had he bestowed so much pains, and to none had he imparted such a scholar-like finish, so that when Erasmus perused it, he pronounced that it was too polished for Luther, and must have been the joint labour of the Wittenberg Professors. But Luther's own word is quite sufficient, and he has declared that he was the sole author of it.* He started with conceding to Erasmus the palm in eloquence and genius, but his arguments he regarded as contemptible. They had been already, he said, completely crushed by Melancthon's "Common Places," which seemed to him "not only worthy of immortality, but of a place in the ecclesiastical canon." Erasmus' matter, as contrasted with his diction, he compared to peasepods or pieces of dung served up in vessels of gold and silver. For himself, he acknowledged he was rude in speech: he did not much value words: he had spent his time in the study of things: and Erasmus' treatise was so void of everything that could recommend it on this score to one who enjoyed the teaching of the Holy Spirit, that from sheer weariness of the subject he had long delayed answering it. "Free will as to spiritual things," he continued, "is a mere lie, and, like the poor woman in the Gospel, the more it is patched up by physicians, the worse it fares." And he proceeded to intimate his conviction that Erasmus was really a

* There is, however, Melancthon's statement, also to the same effect. He told Erasmus that the Scriptures were with Luther; but he regretted the bitterness of his tone, and that he had not treated the prince of letters with the respect due to him. But that, on the other hand, Erasmus had disfigured Luther very unfairly: and the Luther who appeared in his violent writings and the real Luther were two different persons.—See Bret. II. pp. 794 and 946.

1525. sceptic, who regarded Christianity as nothing higher than philosophy, but laughed in his sleeve at all religion, like Lucian or Epicurus. "But the Holy Ghost is no sceptic; he writes on the heart a great mighty certainty, that our very existence is no greater certainty, nor that two and three make five, than that God's Word is eternal truth." But Erasmus wrote, as if the subject under discussion were "not such an awful thing as the soul's salvation, but a business about eight or ten guilders." Luther reiterated with copious scriptural proofs what he had always taught, that the natural depravity of every man is not only intense, but total; that the first dawn of true light in the soul is the entrance of grace, and salvation from first to last is of God alone. If any spiritual freedom were allowed to the will, then he felt that justification could not be entirely of Christ through faith "the *gift* of God." And thus he regarded, and Melancthon with him, this question on the freedom or bondage of the will as underlying the whole difference between the Christianity sanctioned by the world, and the Christianity revealed in the Scriptures. "You have struck at the throat of the beast," he told Erasmus. But the sarcasms in which the work abounded wounded Erasmus' pride severely; so that, finding his remarks had cut deep, Luther laboured subsequently to mollify the irritation by amicable epistles.

It was ever his lot first to inflict the wound, and then to be busy in applying the balsam to heal it. With a pen the most bitter and caustic of any writer of the age, his heart was without a tincture of malice or ill-will. On the 1st September, he addressed an epistle to no less a personage than his old antagonist Henry VIII. of England, in a strain in which honesty and humility were as conspicuous as his devotedness to the cause of Christ. An English version of the New Testament was printing at Cologne by the toil and

endurance of Tyndale, who, it is averred by Foxe, had himself 1525.
an interview with Luther: and according to information received from Christian II. of Denmark, some symptoms of a leaning to the Reformation had appeared on the part of "Bluff King Hal" himself. Without delay Luther addressed that monarch, in order to erase from his mind any impressions of a less propitious kind which his treatise might have infixed and left rankling with its sting. He had published, he said, his former book in a foolish and precipitate spirit, not by his own spontaneous inclination, but at the instigation of those who were ill-disposed towards his Majesty: and he had heard that the treatise published under the name of the King of England was really the production of the Cardinal of York (Wolsey), "that pest of the realm." He therefore must implore his Majesty not to harbour any resentment against one like himself, the scum of men, and a worm who deserved to be treated only with contempt. The cause of his using such an abject style was that he had been apprised that his Majesty was beginning to favour the Gospel. This was indeed a Gospel, good news to him. He threw himself at his Majesty's feet, and implored him by the love, the cross, and the glory of Christ, according to the prayer of Jesus, to forgive one who had trespassed against him. He would willingly offer a recantation, and publicly do honour to his Majesty by addressing to him a writing upon the Gospel if he would grant him leave, whereby fruit would accrue to God's glory. The doctrine of the Gospel was faith in Jesus crucified and risen, and built on this charity towards one's neighbour, obedience to the magistrates, and the crucifixion and mortification of the body of sin. He trusted that Christ would grant his Majesty of England grace to be enrolled amongst the mighty princes who had embraced this doctrine. The reply of Henry to this letter ungraciously harped on the

1525. Reformer's recent marriage. "By heathen law the vestal he had espoused deserved to be buried alive, and Luther himself to be beaten to death with clubs." The time was not quite ripe for England to thrust from her weary feet the shackles of Popery, and take the lead, as a nation, amongst the vindicators of God's Word. "I was deceived," Luther said, in defence of his conduct on this occasion, "by Christian II. of Denmark, who made me so brimful of hope in regard to the King of England, that by writing submissively to him I should advance the Gospel, that I was intoxicated and bewildered with the prospect." If, however, his rashness is blameworthy, where, at least, could a man be found so little regardful of his own reputation, in comparison with the cause for which he desired to "spend and be spent?"

Undaunted by repulse, Luther addressed a conciliatory letter on the 22nd December to his inveterate foe Duke George of Saxony. It can hardly need to be stated that there was never any retractation or compromise of doctrine in the epistles of this nature which the Reformer was in the habit of writing. So far was this from being the case in the present instance, that a short time previously he had been instrumental in accomplishing the release of nine nuns from a convent in Duke George's territory. The brother of Duke George, Duke Henry, had already been won to the Reformation: but all the efforts of his son-in-law, Philip of Hesse, to convert Duke George himself, had proved entirely fruitless. On the contrary, he raged more than ever against the truth; he was the instigator of the Popish alliance in the north of Germany; and he had lately beheaded two Lutherans at Leipsic. Perhaps it was this very doggedness of purpose which inspired Luther with some hopes, even yet, of his conversion: or, at all events, disposed him to make one more trial whether he could not be checked in his

violent career by a gentle admonition. "It is declared," he 1525.
wrote to him, "'the Lord killeth and maketh alive.' God deals first sharply and harshly with men; then like a friend and father. The law comes first, the blessed Gospel follows. I have given you a taste of hard and sharp writings, and then presented friendly supplications. And I am resolved once more, probably for the last time, submissively and gently to beseech you. I am thinking that God may shortly call some of our masters hence: Duke George or Luther, either must alike go. Let me admonish you on the topic of your soul's salvation. I fall with my heart at your Grace's feet, and in all submission entreat you to cease from your undertaking of persecuting my doctrines. Not that your persecution can do me much harm: I can only lose a bag of worms which is hastening to the grave every day. The persecution has, in fact, benefited my cause; and I have reason to thank my foes. And were I not concerned for your soul, I should implore you to go on persecuting ever more. But as I know my doctrine to be true, I am constrained, at the peril of my own salvation, to care, pray, and entreat for the soul of your Grace. Look not at my mean person. God once spoke by an ass. I pray your pardon whereinsoever I may have offended you by word or writing; and I freely forgive your Grace all that you have done against me. I have prayed for you fervently, and would not be compelled to pray against your Grace. It is a very different thing to contend with Munzer from contending with Luther. For the prayers of me and mine are more powerful than Satan himself, otherwise it would have been done with Luther a long while ago. I would have your Grace to answer me graciously and christianly, more with living act than with dead letters." Duke George returned a prompt but bitter reply, and accused the Reformer of having opened an asylum at

1525. Wittenberg for all the refugee monks and nuns of Christendom. But this did not dishearten Luther: his conscience was satisfied; and he said of both Henry VIII. and Duke George, "I despise their god Satan and themselves. I have lost my humility; but why should I not bear with Duke George when I have to bear with my own Absaloms?" From the howlings of the world without, he turned to the peace of his own home. His Kate, as he said, was "either feigning, or preparing really to fulfil, the denunciation in Genesis, 'In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children.'" He frequently found amusement with Wolfgang, his servant, at the turning-lathe: and was anticipating the pleasures of his garden in the spring. To Link he wrote at the end of the year, "I shall laugh at Satan and his members: send me some seeds for the spring; I shall attend to my garden, that is, to the blessings of my Creator, and enjoy them in his praise."

A dispute had occurred between Duke George and John of Saxony, which was, perhaps, among the reasons which had prompted Luther to address the former. Schneeberg was under the common jurisdiction of both cousins, and a preacher there being accused of exciting the people to sedition, had been removed at the desire of Duke George. Another preacher, recommended by Luther, was installed in his place, which gave the greatest offence to the Duke, and a correspondence passed between him and the Elector John, in which Duke George advised that Luther should be dealt with in the same way as Munzer: and the Elector, after deliberating with Philip of Hesse, replied that "he agreed with Luther only as far as the Reformer agreed with the Word of God." This was answered by actual threats on the part of Duke George. A disagreement had also taken place between the cousins regarding the state of religion in the district of Sonnewald, which was subject partly to the King of Bohemia and partly

to Duke George, where Minkwitz, a counsellor of the 1525.
Elector of Saxony, had established the Reformation.

But in fact George of Saxony seemed in a condition to carry his threats into execution. A confederation for northern, similar to that combined at Ratisbon for southern Germany, had been formed under his auspices at Dessau, and the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick had conspired to take up arms, if necessary, in defence of the Papacy. Afterwards the alliance was renewed at Halle, where Duke George and Henry of Brunswick met in consultation at the residence of Albert of Mentz, and a memorial was framed to the Emperor, which it was agreed the Duke of Brunswick should in person convey to him to implore the imperial intervention in repressing the Lutheran "damnable doctrines" which were every day spreading. It was at a most propitious juncture for the success of his mission that Henry of Brunswick arrived at Seville. The battle of Pavia, which had left Francis I. a prisoner in the hands of Charles, had been fought February 24, 1525; and a treaty concluded with Francis, January 14, 1526, by which the French monarch promised to defray half the cost of a war either against the Turks or against the heretics, seemed to leave Charles at liberty to direct his attention to the affairs of Germany. The banks of the Guadalquiver were resounding not only with the notes of triumph celebrating the rapid successes of the imperial arms, but with the rejoicings of yet more genial festivities preceding the union of the Emperor with Isabella, sister of John III. of Portugal. At such a season in the peculiar position of political affairs, the memorial of the Princes drew from Charles such assurances of sympathy as might content the most ardent Papist. On the 23rd March, 1526, eleven days after his marriage, Charles V. addressed letters to the most influential Princes and States

1525. who still adhered to Rome, expressive of his approbation of their constancy: and he also notified, through the Duke of Brunswick, to all the princes and nobles of the Papist party, that he was shortly about to repair to Rome to concert measures with the Pope for the suppression of heresy, and after that should himself pass on to Germany, and exert his utmost power, in person, in behalf of the orthodox faith, and meantime if the Lutherans by guile, force, or the sedition of their subjects, laboured to compel them to join in their impiety, they were to unite their forces and stoutly resist them.

On the other hand, the princes of the evangelical party, alarmed by the threats of their opponents, and warned by other presages of danger, had formed a counter compact for their common safety, and the maintenance of scriptural truth. John Frederic, as the representative of his father the Elector John, and Philip of Hesse, who ever since the conference at Creutzburg had found their friendship becoming more and more close, held a consultation on the 7th November, in the Castle of Friedewald, in the Sullinger Forest, when it was determined that their deputies should act in concert at the coming Diet: and that the well-affected princes and citizens should be invited to join their confederacy.

The Diet, which had been summoned to meet at Augsburg by imperial letters dated May 24, but not received in Germany till August 13, was at last opened on the 11th December, but the only ecclesiastical prince who was present was the Elector of Treves. The recent peasant war, and the dread of feudal disturbances in the unsettled state of Germany, the absorption of interest in the formation of religious leagues, all contributed to make the members stay away, and to render the session of the Diet little more than a state ceremonial. On the last day but one of the year, the Diet was adjourned to meet at Spires in the May following, when it was stated that the questions of

holy faith, justice and peace, should receive a full discussion; 1525.
and meanwhile, the rescripts of the foregoing Nuremberg Diets were re-enacted.

It was foreseen that the Diet to assemble at Spires must 1526.
have an important influence by its decision on the future of Germany, and probably of the world, in regard to the great religious controversy, which their enemies wished to crush and tear from the hearts of men. The expected presence of the Emperor seemed to render their peril more imminent and palpable to the evangelical party; and his known inclination towards the side of the Pope, with whom he was in alliance, inspired the Papist princes with sanguine expectations, and drew from Duke George the inconsiderate boast that "he might be Elector of Saxony any day he pleased." Had the military enterprises of Charles been disastrous instead of victorious, he might have trembled for his imperial throne, instead of being in a position to strike terror into the Lutherans: but the march of events—particularly if the crafty temperament of the Emperor, which would naturally dispose him to continue any intestine disagreement that might conduce to his own supremacy, were left out of the account—had been more adverse to the Reformation than could have been predicted by the exactest calculation of probabilities.

In the intervening time the preparations of the Lutheran princes for the coming struggle were matured. In the month of February, the Elector and the Landgrave held a conference at Gotha, when a defensive alliance in contemplation of their mutual danger was agreed upon between them, which was afterwards ratified at Torgau. They turned their eyes on every side to find confederates. The Landgrave addressed himself to the Electors of Treves and of the Palatinate, his associates in the war with Sickengen, of both of whom some hopes were entertained, more especially of the latter. But

1526. they were deaf to his solicitations. The Elector of Treves had accepted a pension from the Emperor, and the Elector Palatine, whose secret wishes drew him to the Gospel, was too weak and irresolute to risk the imperial displeasure. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the union of the evangelical princes and nobles, who in politics had commonly followed in the wake of Saxony, was concluded at Magdeburg on the 12th June. The Elector John of Saxony and his son John Frederic, Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis, Dukes of Luneburg, Henry Duke of Mecklenburg, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, and Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld, reciprocally engaged, "esteeming the Scriptures the greatest treasure on earth, to preserve to their people the Word of God, by aid of their substance, their lives, the resources of their states, and the arms of their subjects, not trusting in their armies but in the Almighty arm of the Lord." Two days afterwards the city of Magdeburg joined the evangelical alliance by an interchange of diplomas: and by a separate treaty, dated from Konigsberg the 29th September, Albert, the Duke of Prussia, entered into the same solemn covenant.

There was one, however, who kept still unfurled the ensign of peace. "See," Luther wrote to Frederic Myconius, about the beginning of April, "that the people strenuously fight with faith and prayer to the Lord, that, overcome by the Spirit, they may be compelled to observe peace in the flesh. It is of the utmost moment to pray, for Satan is meditating his wiles. We are in the midst of swords and the fury of Satan." About the same time he wrote to Spalatin—"You cannot credit what horrors Satan is plotting through the agency of Duke George and the bishops. Unless God prevent, the slaughter of the peasants will be but a prelude to the ruin of Germany. I earnestly pray you to beseech with all your might the Father of mercies to stay these plots, and

break the fury of Duke George, who is almost Satan himself, 1526.
and is so grieved that Luther should not be put to death, that it is feared his grief may prove fatal to his life." It was with undissembled displeasure that the Reformer perceived preparations making for so fortifying Wittenberg that it could resist a sudden attack. He had received intelligence of the Popish conspiracy which had been concocted in the palace of the Cardinal of Mentz, and informed Spalatin that, at the time he was writing to him, a tract which he had indited against this conspiracy was in the press. But the extent to which confederacies had been formed on both sides, must have been unknown to him, as well as the more threatening compacts which the Emperor had entered into with Clement VII., Henry of England, and the King of France, respectively, for the effectual suppression of the Reformation.

The Bishops were beginning to raise their heads again. The peasants had been quelled, and support seemed to be tendered to the Papist cause by powerful princes who had pledged their honour and resources to its defence. Luther wrote a prologue and epilogue to a work consisting of a series of representations of the dignitaries of the Romish Church, with humorous allusions under the figures, to the pomp, luxury, avarice, and licentiousness of the personages depicted. At the beginning of the year the evangelical "Mass Book, and Order for Public Worship," was published;* but the Reformer

* The Preface speaks of the importance of a Catechism for children, which he supplied a little later. "Christianity," he goes on to say, "may all be put up in two bags—*Faith* and *Love*. Each bag has two pockets. Into the first pocket of Faith children are to drop such texts as, 'In sin did my mother conceive me,' and 'By one man came sin into the world'—two Rhenish gold-pieces. The other pocket is for Hungarian gold-pieces, such as, "Christ died for our sins,' and 'Behold the Lamb of God.' Into the first pocket of Love they are to drop silver groschens, such as, 'Forasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least

1526. did not desire the Latin formula to be entirely superseded, which was not, he thought, without its utility in reference to the instruction of youth: he even went still farther, and wished that a Hebrew and Greek liturgy should be framed and sometimes used with the same object. Early in June he finished his Psalter or version of the Psalms in German metre, and was at that period busily engaged in a commentary on the prophet Habakkuk. The sacramental dispute was continued with a brisk exchange of controversial writings between the partisans of Zwingle and Luther; but, although the latter took a lively interest in this paper war, and regarded the Swiss interpretation as an inspiration from Satan, he had not leisure to add to the list of treatises with his own pen. He addressed the Elector also in reference to the celebration of the mass in the cathedral of Altenburg, which was still retained, with other corrupt usages, against the urgent endeavours for its abolition made by Spalatin and the evangelical preachers: but with much moderation he suggested a public disputation, for the better instruction of the canons; and that for the present their ignorance should be tolerated. And by a rescript of the Elector from Torgau, dated the 24th June, such ministers as were incompetent for the office of preaching were directed to read to their congregations the Postils printed at Wittenberg. Luther's labour at this period was continuous in finding schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and, above all, pastors, to meet the numerous applications that reached him from all quarters.

Luther's private life was flowing with even and peaceful tenour, and his garden was a principal source of amusement.

of these, ye did it unto me;' and into the other pocket Schreckenbergers, such as, 'If ye be persecuted for righteousness' sake, happy are ye!' For, 'If Christ became man to draw men to God, we must become children to draw children to Christ.'"—Walch. X., p. 274.

He had planted it, and erected a fountain to his entire satisfac- 1526.
tion, and invited Spalatin to be a witness of his happiness—
"Come and you shall be crowned with lilies and roses." A vase had been presented to him, which excited the admiration of a friend, to whom Luther, with his characteristic liberality, at once gave it: the messenger was waiting to bear it away, and the letter to accompany the present had been written, when the vase could not be found: Kate, who had taken an equal fancy to it, had found means of secreting it. From his ample mansion the refugee was never excluded; and the claims of hospitality and charity were never forgotten. In a letter of this period he entreats the Elector to befriend some Carmelite monks, who were aged and in great want, "one of whom," he said, might "be their judge at the last day." In another letter he implores the Elector's bounty in behalf of his old schoolmaster, "whom he was bound ever to hold in reverence." In the review of the salaries of the Professors, Melancthon as well as Luther had been awarded 200 florins (*i. e.*, about £20) a year for lecturing in Greek and Divinity, a sum which Philip scrupled to take, on the ground that, in his feeble health, his lectures could not be worth it, and "the post assigned him by God" was not to lecture in theology, but in the classical languages: and Luther, by a direct application to the Elector, took care that the scruples of his friend should be satisfied, and the salary not lost to him. With Carlstadt, the old intimacy had become so far renewed, that Jonas, Philip, Luther, and Kate, stood sponsors to the ex-Professor's son; and after the baptism tasted his hospitality at his residence, at Segren, beyond the Elbe. Thence, shortly afterwards, Carlstadt removed to Berquiltz, near Kemberg, not much more than a mile from Wittenberg; and Luther, whose forgiving disposition was easily changed from thinking the worst to hoping the best, mentions him in

1526. his correspondence of this period with kindness, and anticipates his complete and settled amendment. In the next year Carlstadt petitioned the Elector to allow him to reside in Kemberg, as he could not endure the iniquity of the peasants in the outlying hamlet.

The correspondence of the Reformer is no longer replete with melancholy forebodings of death, and prayerful aspirations for its relief. About Whitsuntide, as he informed his friends, he expected to be made a father; and ere the child's appearance, Gerbel of Strasburg, and Muller, Chancellor of Mansfeld, were bespoken as godfathers, if the child should be a boy, and likely to live. Amidst these domestic expectations and household cares, the nature of Luther expanded with all its genuine and warm-hearted German kindliness. If a fit of spiritual despondency came over him Kate charmed away the black mood by the solace of reading; if Duke George scowled at him, or the "viper Erasmus" darted his malicious tongue, he forgot both in Kate's smile. At length, on the 7th June, just within the year from his marriage, the event long expected took place, and a healthy boy, "sound in every sense and limb," was born to the rejoiced father. He communicated the interesting intelligence to his friend Ruhel the next day—"My dear Kate, of God's grace, brought me a John Luther yesterday at two o'clock." John was the grandfather's name, and had therefore been fixed upon for his first-born son. In yet warmer terms he wrote to Spalatin—"I have received from my most excellent and dearest wife a little Luther, by God's wonderful mercy. Pray for me, that Christ will preserve my child against Satan, who, I know, will try all he can to harm me in him." There are some complaints in Luther's letters, that at first the infant did not obtain sufficient nourishment, and Kate had a deficient supply of milk; but, after a time, matters fell into

the right trim, and all went on prosperously. Profuse were 1526.
the congratulations and inquiries of friends, and Luther's bulletins were singularly explicit. In answer to Spalatin's good wishes, who was in expectation of a similar boon from his partner, he wrote—"John my fawn, together with my doe, return their warm thanks for your kind benediction; and may your doe present you with just such another fawn, on whom I may ask God's blessing in turn. Amen."

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE 24TH JUNE, 1526, TO THE 3RD APRIL, 1530.

1526. The dangers which at this period of its career menaced the reviving Gospel, according to the view taken by Luther, were chiefly twofold. The Reformation had first seen the light, like little Johnny Luther, in the Augustine Convent of Wittenberg, and had been nursed amidst homely faces, books, and poverty, until it had grown into reputation with the world. But it had now been transferred to a new sphere, it had passed to courts and palaces, it had become the subject of the engagements and leagues of sovereigns, its defence had been vowed by one of the most warlike of the German princes: and it could not but be a matter of anxiety how it would fare with the child of such lowly origin in the higher air and soil to which it had been transplanted. Again, there was an unhappy division in the ranks of those who had been its earliest guardians: and whilst the Papists availed themselves of this disunion to throw discredit on the arguments and claims both of the Lutherans and Zwinglians, the worldly element, now in alliance with the Reformation, was seeking to heal the breach, rather on account of the obstacle thus opposed to secular interests, than from any true love of Christian unity. There was, therefore, much to be feared from a continuance of dissension, and yet more to be feared from the worldly policy which aped Christian feelings and motives for party and political ends. Alive to the hazards of the period, and convinced that his own sacramental doctrine

was scriptural, Luther was sustained by faith in the divine promises, and felt assured that Christ would be hidden only for a time. 1526.

The Diet which had been appointed to be held at Spires in May, was not opened until the 25th June. John of Saxony entered Spires with a retinue of 700 horsemen; and his style of living marked him out as the wealthiest and most influential Elector of the Empire. He had brought with him as his chaplains, Spalatin and Agricola, who were sedulously employed in proclaiming the Word of God, for the pulpits of the city churches were barred against the evangelical preachers; but this led to their desertion by the populace, who assembled by thousands, every day, in the hotels of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, to hear the Word of God and join in the Lutheran worship. It is mentioned, that on one Sunday as many as 8000 united in religious worship after the evangelical ritual. Tracts, too, from Luther's pen were busily circulated in the city, and produced their usual fruit in clearing the mind from prejudice, and inducing the study of the Scriptures. Both the Elector John and the Landgrave were sensible of the importance of their position; and whilst they discarded all attention to the Romish regulations about feasting and fasting, were strict in requiring of their followers such demeanour as would not bring dishonour upon the Gospel. And it was soon manifest that the popular sympathy with the Reformation found a powerful echo in the Diet itself. The Committees drew up their several Reports: and the Report of the Committee of Princes in particular, owing in some measure to the influence of the Landgrave, who argued points of theological doctrine with the Bishops, and easily confuted them, was singularly favourable to religious freedom, and, amongst other things, spoke of explaining Scripture by Scripture. But just at this

1526. point, when everything was turning against Rome, Ferdinand suddenly produced the instructions which he had received from the Emperor, and which it had been left to his discretion to publish or suppress; and the harsh tenor of the imperial instructions excited mingled surprise and indignation.

The Lutherans now talked of quitting Spires without delay; and the business of the Diet seemed likely to come to a standstill. But quickly more cheering intelligence dissipated this sudden gloom. It transpired that a common league had been entered into against the Emperor, in mutual dread of his power, by Milan, Florence, Venice, Piedmont, and France, and that Pope Clement VII. himself had absolved Francis I. from the obligations he had incurred by the Treaty of Madrid, and was the author and patron of this "most holy confederation." Thus the relation of Charles to the Papal See was unexpectedly and completely changed. The new instructions issued by the Emperor to his brother Ferdinand, under this influence of altered circumstances, were diametrically counter to those previously despatched; they suggested the abolition of the penal clauses in the Edict of Worms, and the submission of the Lutheran controversy to the decision of a Council. The Pope, on the other hand, had advanced so far in his enmity to Charles V., as to fix on his substitute to the imperial throne, and destine William of Bavaria, whose ambition was unbounded, for the supreme dignity. Ferdinand, using again the discretionary power with which he was invested, suppressed his brother's new instructions: having already incensed the Lutherans, he dreaded in the present state of feeling the effect of alienating the Papists also; but the disunion which the rupture of the Pope and Emperor had caused in the Papist ranks, and the strong combination of the evangelical Princes, to which the tone of public sentiment added great weight, naturally

Treaty of Cognac, May 22.

led to a vote of the Diet on the question of religious tolera- 1526.
tion, to which Ferdinand himself, under the apprehension, as Cochlæus and Maimburg affirm, of tumult and sedition, felt himself obliged to yield a temporary assent.

The Recess declared, that "until a general or national assembly of the Church should be convened, each state should live, govern, and bear itself, in such a way as it could best answer to God and to the Emperor:" a decision, which conferred its first legal settlement on the Reformation in those States in which it had already been established, and granted to other States the liberty of entering on similar religious changes, as their inclination might prompt them. History does not furnish many instances of a more signal interposition of Providence in behalf of the Church of Christ: for just at the moment when the Reformation was enveloped with dangers, and there seemed no path of escape, a straight road was opened before it, and Rome itself was made the point of attack to the imperial resentment.

The Recess had scarcely been agreed upon when the Archduke Ferdinand was hurried from councils to camps. His brother-in-law, Lewis, the young King of Hungary and Bohemia, flying before the arms of Sultan Soliman from the fatal field of Mohacz, perished in a morass on the 29th August. Ferdinand had an incontestable right to both thrones, as far as treaties could be relied upon; but Hungary was laid claim to by John Zapolya, the Woiwode of Transylvania, and Bohemia had been swallowed, in anticipation, by the greedy Dukes of Bavaria, and the resources of the French monarchy were at the command of whatever competitors against the claims of the House of Austria. Acting, however, with great energy and prudence, Ferdinand secured his succession to both kingdoms, and was very much indebted for his success to the Anti-papist or Lutheran party. He was elected by the three

1526. Estates to the throne of Bohemia; and although Zapolya had actually been crowned King of Hungary, Ferdinand succeeded in taking from him his strongholds, and driving him beyond the borders, and was then himself crowned King of Hungary in Stuhlweissenburg.

But the importance of these events was not appreciated at the time: and from the extreme difficulty of communication, and the mantle of mystery with which public affairs were systematically shrouded, the progress of affairs at the Diet was little known, and when the Decree was published, the victory, which the evangelical party had gained, was very insufficiently estimated. "I know nothing about the Diet," Luther wrote to a friend on the 11th August, "except that the Bishops are labouring to restore their ancient sovereignty." "The Diet at Spires," he wrote to Link on the 28th, "is true to the old German fashion; there is drinking and gambling, but little else." There is no expression in the Reformer's correspondence of gratitude for the triumph of the evangelical cause at Spires, clearly as its value was recognised in after years. Luther's mind was rather occupied with dismal presentiments of approaching war. Wittenberg was assuming the aspect of a garrisoned town: and he very much disliked such a metamorphose. And when the question was referred to him, whether, in his opinion, a defensive league in behalf of the Reformation could be justified on grounds of Scripture, he replied—"The Elector has no superior except Cæsar; he may therefore resist his enemies, provided they first attack him, and may use means for defending his subjects; but 'they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.'" He exhorted the Elector John to break off all alliance with the Landgrave, as soon as symptoms should appear of his disposition for offensive warfare. But in a treatise in answer to the question, "Can a soldier hope for

salvation?" he determined that to bear arms at the command 1526.
of the magistrate is not unlawful; but "a soldier, if his cause be just, may think of God and his soul without being dismayed by his profession of arms," and that "with a good conscience he must make a better soldier."

His pen was actively employed on other subjects also, but he granted the Papists, as Seckendorf observes, "a respite this year." He followed up his commentary on Habakkuk, by a commentary on the prophet Jonah; and then commenced a commentary on Zechariah. At the same time he was engaged in a commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes, which he found an extremely arduous task, on account of the difficult Hebrew idioms; and when he had "overcome the obstacles by the grace of God," and his exposition was ready for publication, he withdrew it in deference to Brentz, whose theological sagacity he greatly admired, and who had anticipated him in a commentary upon the same book. The Sacramental controversy next engaged his attention. Œcolampadius, whom he respected, and whose declension into the sacramentarian heresy he lamented, had published an answer to his preface to the Syngramma; and Luther, regarding this as a challenge, entered with zeal and joy on the work of "professing to the world his faith," which, he said, he "should have done long ago, had not leisure been wanting, and Satan hindered him." "See what the Sacramentarian arguments are!" he wrote to Stiefel; "Christ is at the right hand of the Father, therefore he is not in the Sacrament: the flesh profiteth nothing, therefore Christ is not in the Sacrament! How much safer to trust to the simple and plain letter of Scripture, 'This is my body.'" He entitled his tract—"Against the Enthusiasts, that the words of Christ remain firm, 'This is my body.'" It was published in the ensuing year.

1526. The year was rich in pulpit discourses, in which he treated likewise of the Sacramentarian topic; but he complained that a coldness in spiritual things had crept over the Wittenberg people; "they were lukewarm in the Gospel, and seemed satiated." But with less reason he complained of his own supineness. "Pray for me," he wrote to Hausmann, "who am so torpid and cold: I know not how it is, whether I am overborne by weariness, or oppressed by Satan, that I do so little." Tidings now came in apace in anticipation of events not far distant. It was reported that the Pope was a prisoner in the hands of the imperial faction. The rumour was premature; but the Pontiff had written a severe brief to the Emperor on the 23rd June, and had followed this up by a milder brief the next day, in which he had implored Charles to keep "the unbridled ambition of his partisans within some bounds;" and he had cited Cardinal Pompeo Colonna in particular to appear before him at Rome, under the most heavy penalties, to answer for his impious conduct. The Cardinal in reply entered Rome at the head of his troops on the 19th September, and forced Clement, who had fled to the Castle of St. Angelo, to come to terms, and then retreated, carrying with him 300,000 ducats as booty. But Clement, as soon as he was released from his immediate dangers, threw his engagements to the winds, degraded Colonna, and excommunicated his whole family; and, after retaliating severely on their lands, directed his forces against Naples, which was at the same time menaced by the French fleet. On the other hand, the excited temper of the Emperor was exhibited, not only in his respective replies to the Pontiff's two briefs, but in the letter dated the 6th October, which he addressed to the Consistory of Cardinals, exhorting them to admonish the Pope of his duty, and persuade him to convoke a Council; but, if he refused to do so, to convoke

a Council with all speed themselves. In the awful events 1526.
daily transacted, or rumoured, Luther was delighted to behold signs that the end of the world was near at hand; and he attributed the commotions and wars which were shaking all Europe to the rage and fury of Satan, who was conscious that he had but a short time. But notwithstanding the variance of Pope and Emperor, persecution had not relaxed its vigour, and the sword of Duke George and other princes was continually dripping with fresh blood. There is thus repeated allusion in Luther's commentaries on Habakkuk and Jonah to the fate of persecutors, and the true meaning of the Divine forbearance in suffering their virulence to exhaust itself without check or restraint. "God," he wrote, in his characteristic style, "is a great cook: his kitchen is vast: he fats for it great beasts, kings and potentates; he places them in rich pasturage, amid wealth, glory, and pleasure; he suffers them to exult and tyrannise over the necks and bodies of his servants, as the daughter of Herodias danced over the head of John the Baptist, and as the world rejoiced when the Apostles mourned; till at length all in an instant destruction from God cometh."

It was a period when, in a peculiar degree, the combat between Christ and Satan was fought out, as in the primitive days of Christianity, in the bosom of each family; and father and son, husband and wife were at variance, by their adhesion to one or the other of two conflicting masters. Lewis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, one of the persecutors of the Gospel, had perished with the sudden stroke of destruction of which Luther spoke; but his widowed queen, Mary, the sister of the Emperor, had for some time been attached to the Gospel, and had laboured to extend the knowledge of it in her husband's dominions. The Turkish arms had driven her for refuge within the walls of Vienna: and in the day of her

1526. distress Luther presents to her his exposition of four consolatory Psalms—the 37th, 62nd, 94th, and 109th. "The Holy Scripture," he told the afflicted Queen, "is a comforting Scripture, and teaches us patience, and to trust in the true Father in heaven, and the true Bridegroom Jesus Christ, who is our brother, our own flesh and blood, and to rejoice with our true friends and companions, the dear angels, who are round about us, and take care of us. It is hard to be so early a widow, and to be robbed of a dear husband; but the Scriptures, especially the Psalms, will afford you much comfort, for they show the dear Father and the Son, in whom certain and eternal life is hidden. Whoso sees and feels in the Scriptures the Father's love towards us, can easily bear any earthly sorrow: whoso feels it not, can never be truly happy, though he swim in the abundance of worldly pleasure. We should be more patient if we thought less of our light crosses, and more of Christ's cross."

There is a letter of the Reformer at this period, which allows an insight into his financial condition. His old friend the ex-Prior of the Augustine Convent, had applied for a loan of eight florins; and in answer to this request, Luther enters into a statement of his pecuniary circumstances. He was in debt 100 florins; three silver drinking cups, the presents of friends, were placed in pawn for the payment of a moiety of this sum; and another cup was in pledge for twelve florins more of it, "due to Luke and Christian." In such an embarrassed condition he was unable to do anything by loan towards relieving the straits of another; but he was willing to do all that he could, and would use his influence to pacify the Prior's debtors, if he wished him to do so, with the utmost alacrity. "The Lord," he said, "is punishing me for my imprudence, and then he will help me out of my difficulties again." The imprudence thus chastened arose entirely

from a liberality which knew no bounds in relieving the 1526.
distresses of others. But poverty did not preclude great domestic happiness. "Johnny," Luther wrote to Spalatin, "is cutting his teeth, and prattles pleasantly, in his way, to everybody: Kate says, that he has taught her the joys of matrimony, of which the Pope and his minions are unworthy."

The absence of the Elector John at the Diet had retarded the execution of Luther's plan for the visitation of the churches and parishes in his dominions by commissioners. This obstacle was now removed; but a more serious one remained in the opposition made to such a project by the courtiers, who had, wherever they could, seized on the property of the fallen convents with the greediness of harpies, and were now most reluctant to have their depredations checked, and themselves called to account. The tendency to rapacity had been much increased by the mild and conciliatory rule of the Elector John, which had been so grossly abused by many of his nobles as to cause Luther to exclaim with vehemence, that "a tyrant alone was fitted to be the depository of authority." "There are not a few," he declared, "who with loud professions of zeal for the Gospel, are the greatest enemies the Gospel has." But resolute in requiring the execution of his plan, he wrote on the 22nd November, a very strong letter to the Elector, requesting that a visitation should be forthwith instituted of the parishes in his electorate by four commissioners, of whom two should examine matters of finance, and the other two investigate the characters of the clergy, the condition of the schools, and the nature of the doctrines in which the people were instructed. "He would himself warrant," he told the Elector, "that if such affairs were properly looked into, everything would thenceforward go right with the peasantry, who had been left too often without a

1526. clergyman or preacher, living like the sow." The nobility, he warned his princes, were carving a goodly portion for themselves out of the convent wealth. But as this entreaty did not accomplish all that Luther could wish, he took care to bring the case in person before the immediate attention of the Elector, when he happened to be, not long after, at Wittenberg. He first addressed himself to John Frederic, who expressed warm indignation at the rapine of the nobles; and then, overruling every objection which the domestic officers of the Elector could interpose, he forced his way into John's bedchamber, and laid before him, in a private interview of some length, the fraudulent and griping selfishness of his courtiers. Spalatin also, and the University, were stirred up to intercede with the Elector for the same object: and under the influence of these entreaties and remonstrances the commission was appointed, and the visitation commenced the following year.

Towards the close of this year the plague fell on Wittenberg with more than ordinary severity; and continued throughout the greater portion of the next year, increasing in
1527. virulence as the summer advanced. The opening of the new year proved a season of sickness also to Luther himself. In January he suffered much from hemorrhage; and after that, "a sudden collection of blood around the heart," as he describes the attack, produced such violent compressions as almost extinguished life, when he was unexpectedly relieved by drinking the water of the *carduus benedictus*.

The weakness consequent on this illness delayed for a time his commentary on Zechariah; but early in January his treatise against the Enthusiasts appeared, which, he mentions with lively joy, had the effect of "confirming many in the true faith of the Lord's Supper." But all his spare time was devoted to his German version of the Prophets; and he was

now engrossed with the study of Isaiah. A German transla- 1527.
tion of the Sacred Prophets had already been published at Worms, and in many respects was approved by Luther: but the phraseology seemed to him less simple than the work demanded in order to be generally useful, and he continued his own version. His commentaries on the prophetical books was a natural sequel to the work of translation. Cordially enamoured of such peaceful theological researches, he was rejoiced to forego controversy with the Romanists: and the signs of the times seemed to him to dispense with the necessity of returning to this old warfare. "Everywhere," he exclaimed, "the Pope is visited for his destruction: and although persecution is raging on all sides, and many are burnt, the end and hour of Antichrist approaches" But as before, so now, he found his old opponents incapable of observing silence. Emser, with equal mendacity and malice, published copies of Luther's letters to Henry VIII. and Duke George, with the answers respectively made to them, and represented the gentle terms of the Reformer's addresses as equivalent to a recantation of his doctrines. More was added which malevolence had dictated. Luther felt himself compelled to reply to a charge which might possibly obtain credit, and which glanced at his consistency; and vindicated his character effectually from the allegation of a recantation, but with great dignity of feeling he was silent as to the spontaneous calumnies of Emser. "I erred," he said, "and I grieve for it, for I cast my pearls before swine. A fool I have been, and a fool I remain, for looking for a John the Baptist in kings' courts."

The recreations before spoken of continued to be resorted to in his moments of leisure. Amsdorf and Link were the instruments in supplying the means of these amusements. Both were written to for garden seeds, and the Reformer,

1527. somewhat later, gives a glowing description of his melons and cucumbers, which promised to succeed to the utmost of his expectation. The turning-lathe was a great source of gratification; but he wanted one, he said, which would turn of itself whilst Wolfgang was snoring or idling. The presents he received were numerous: vases, money, eatables, radishes from Erfurth, &c. A gift of a wooden clock, which he received from an unknown admirer through the hand of Link, exceedingly delighted him; he studied its mechanism, in which, within a few days after its receipt, he pronounced himself perfect. The gift he considered opportune: "My drunken Germans want to be taught what time of day it is." Domestic matters progressed as smoothly as Luther's genial temper and Kate's conjugal devotedness could make them. Before the close of the year an account of the antics of "Johnny" concluded many letters on matters of business, or religious bickerings. Perhaps his habitual good nature does not display itself more forcibly in anything than the readiness with which, notwithstanding the extraordinary weight of occupation devolving on him, he acted the part of go-between for various clergymen who wished to publish religious treatises, or Scriptural commentaries, and the proprietors of the Wittenberg printing presses. Frequent were the complaints if the printing went on languidly: but Luther never lost his temper. The works to be published demanded the introduction of a celebrated name, and Luther did not refuse to write an infinity of prefaces. For his own writings he never received the value of a farthing in money, although they were the chief support of the printers, and the ordinary remuneration was a gold piece a sheet: but he took *gratis* copies of such works issued from the Wittenberg presses as pleased him; and by this means was enabled to supply impoverished but deserving students with works which they could never

have procured for themselves, and which materially aided 1527.
their industry.

In Germany itself no political event occurred this year of any moment; expectation was on the watch for the first authentic tidings of something definite from Rome. So strong was the conviction that the future course of affairs in Germany would be determined by the fortune of the Imperial arms in Italy, that scarcely a noble was present in the Diet which met at Ratisbon in the spring; and the deputies parted, after voting a humble petition to the Emperor, to honour Germany with his presence. On the 2nd June the young Saxon prince John Frederic was wedded to the Princess Sibylla of Cleves; but the influence of this union, for the present, was only felt in its interposing another cause of delay to the execution of the promised visitation of the Saxon parishes.

No war had ever been more popular with the Germans, than that now levied by Charles against Clement VII. The Emperor had directed his brother to march himself, with his troops, into Italy; but as Ferdinand's absence was objectionable on many grounds, particularly in the present condition of his own kingdoms, he commissioned the veteran George Frundsberg, whose welcome to Luther at Worms had been followed by a cordial acceptance of the evangelical doctrines, to gather an army in the Imperial name, and lead it across the Alps with all speed. The reputation of Frundsberg as the hero of the fields of Bicocca and Pavia, was not more effective in attracting recruits to his standard, than his well-known hostility to the Papacy and admiration of Luther. In his ardour he pawned his wife's jewels, and offered his own lands for mortgage; and it is related that he carried about in his hand a rope twisted with gold and silver thread, and threatened that he "would treat the Pontiff as the Eastern monarchs treat their brothers." But Charles himself by no means

1527. disdained the enthusiasm, which he was aware would be inspired in his German subjects by the knowledge of the destination of this levy of troops. "Say," he enjoined Ferdinand, "against the Turks: every one will know what Turks are meant." The boldest hearts in Germany throbbed with exultation at these evidences of an anti-papal spirit in the Imperial councils. In November the army numbered 11,000 men; on the 17th of that month the command to commence the march was given—"For the Alps and Italy;" and every day the army under Frundsberg received new accessions of recruits, many enlisting without pay, attracted simply by the popular destination of the enterprise.

Over crags and the tops of precipices, down which the soldiers trembled to look, pursuing its course with the agility of the wild goat, his landsknechts steadying the steps of their veteran chief with a rail of spears, the army arrived on the evening of the 17th at Aa; and two days later it reached the foot of the Alps. The Duke of Urbino, commander of the forces of the League, was on its right flank; but he did not venture to make an attack. A smart affair took place at Mantua, in which Giovanni de' Medici, in whom the utmost confidence was reposed by the Papal troops, was slain, and his loss proved a material injury to the Pontiff: thence Frundsberg pushed on to the Po, which he crossed at Ostiglia, and a junction was effected on the 12th January not far from Firenzuola, with such troops as the Duke of Bourbon could lead from Milan. The united army, on the 22nd February, 20,000 strong, received the welcome order to take the high road to Rome.

It is possible that if Clement VII., shortly after this, had offered the generals, from his large store of treasure, an adequate sum to satisfy the soldiers' claims, his capital might have remained unmolested. But his offers were marked by

the niggardly propensity of his character; the generals had 1527.
exhausted all the resources at their command for liquidating the arrears of payment; and the only means of authority that remained to them was their personal influence. Frundsberg, in a mild and rational address, tried to allay the risings of disorder. But the resentment had attained too high a pitch. In reply to his considerate language the cry "Gelt, Gelt," resounded, and spears were even levelled at himself and officers. Frundsberg could not bear this treatment from his brave landsknechts, who were "his children, to whom he had been true in success and in distress," and in the vehemence of his overwrought feelings he sank down upon a drum in an apoplectic fit. He was unable to regain his speech for four days afterwards; and then the shock which he had received was too great for his advanced age and worn-out frame. He was conveyed to Ferrara, where he lingered for a year and some months.

This catastrophe to their chief stilled the tumult, but did not stifle the ardour, with which the soldiers burned to gain possession of the Holy City: on the contrary, it seemed rather to inflame it. Bourbon, who had now the sole command, made some demonstrations against Florence; but that city was too strongly fortified to be taken before the Duke of Urbino could come to its relief; and on the 28th April, after a seasonable supply of necessaries from the city of Siena, which was in alliance with the Emperor, the combined Spanish and German forces pressed on for Rome itself. On the 5th May, through the mist of the evening, they descried the walls and towers of the Papal city. There was no time to be lost, as the Duke of Urbino was already in Tuscany. Bourbon accordingly issued the command, that early the next morning the army should be ready, in battle array, to commence the assault; and at six o'clock of Monday the

1527. 6th May, under cover of a dense fog, the soldiers advanced to escalade the walls round the Vatican. At first, the scaling parties were repelled; and on seeing this Bourbon himself taking a ladder in his hand, applied it to the wall, and advanced his foot on the lowest round, when a bullet struck him on the ribs and precipitated him mortally wounded into the fosse beneath. A covering was hastily thrown over the body, to conceal the loss from the soldiers; but contrary to what had been conjectured, the misfortune becoming known, stimulated their courage to avenge their commander. The parapets were now mounted on all sides, the Spaniards being the first to effect a successful lodgment: and the band of defenders being greatly outnumbered by their assailants, the whole line of fortifications rapidly fell into the hands of the Imperialists. After this success they rested for four hours. Towards nightfall a door leading across the Tiber was observed by one of the soldiers to be unguarded; he entered it, and others followed him, and, pressing on without opposition, the German and Spanish troops crossed the bridges, which were scarcely defended, and spread through all parts of the interior of the city. An hour after sunset the Imperialists had possession of every quarter of Rome. Clement had fled to the Castle of St. Angelo only just in time to secure his personal safety; but his treasures, as well as the wealth of the cardinals, and all the resources of a capital famed for its dissoluteness and luxury, lay at the feet of the victors. Pillage and brutality succeeded to the struggle of arms. There is no tale of horror, either described or conceivable, which cannot be matched by some of the deeds that were perpetrated by the sanguinary Spaniards; and they were even exceeded in ferocity by the Neapolitans. The vault containing the remains of Julius II. was torn open, and a ring taken from the finger of the corpse: the churches were plundered: everywhere

search was made for gold: and no pity shown to age or sex, 1527.
Guelph or Ghibelin. Meanwhile the German soldiers turned to the harmless recreation of raillery and satire. A procession of them, arrayed in cardinals' robes and mounted on mules, wound their way through the principal streets of the city, until they halted in front of the Castle of St. Angelo; where the representative of the Pontiff, a man of the name of Grünwald, eminent for his lofty stature and majestic form, flourishing a large drinking-cup, harangued the right reverend assemblage on the vices and abominations of former Pontiffs; that he himself, unlike his predecessors, would ever be obedient to the Emperor, and by will would make over the See at his death to Martin Luther; and ended by requiring, in a loud voice, of those present, if they assented to what he had said, to signify their concurrence by raising their hands. The whole crowd of soldiers raised their hands, and shouted with all their might, "Long life to Pope Luther." A representative of the Reformer, in the solemn garb of the ecclesiastic of Wittenberg, was then paraded on the shoulders of the cardinals through the streets, and conveyed with the wildest mirth and rejoicing, to St. Peter's Church and the palace of the Pontiff.

When Charles heard the news of the sack of Rome, he dissembled his joy at the success of his arms; he even wrote to the Catholic princes to protest, that what had occurred had not proceeded from his orders; he put himself and his court into mourning, although a son, afterwards the bigoted Philip II., had recently been born to him; and he appointed that prayers should be offered in all the churches, that the Pope might recover his liberty. His secret acts were in direct contradiction to these noisy protestations. On the 15th June Pompeo Colonna arrived in Rome, and took the command of the Imperial troops, whose excesses were now subjected to

1527. some kind of restraint: and negotiations were opened with Clement, which issued in the agreement, on his part, to pay 400,000 ducats to the army, to surrender his stronghold, and to give hostages in pledge of peace on condition of regaining his liberty, when these articles of submission had been fulfilled. But before the time of his stipulated liberation arrived, he managed to effect his escape in the disguise of a merchant. The old amity was, not long afterwards, restored between Pope and Emperor, and Clement was united to Charles more firmly than ever, by the conviction that the retention of Florence by his own family was dependent on his will; but the Imperial letters to the Pope and Cardinals, impressions of which were struck off by thousands, and were everywhere circulated, and all the circumstances attending the sack of Rome, following just upon the first Diet of Spires, gave an impetus to the Reformation such as perhaps could hardly have resulted from any other concatenation of events. "Rome," Luther wrote, "has been miserably laid waste, Christ so truly reigning, that the Emperor, wishing to persecute Luther, has been compelled to prostrate not Luther but the Pope. All things obey Christ, for the safety of his people and the destruction of his adversaries."

But the Reformer had small leisure to contemplate the turns in the tide of politics; his element was action, doing, or enduring. He was now called upon to approve his faith in God in his own sufferings, in the prospect of death. For some time the melancholy to which he was subject—the cause of which he declared was quite preternatural—had preyed upon him, when, on the morning of the 6th July, he felt exceedingly depressed, and "a stroke from Satan" weighed him to the ground. In this condition he sent his servant Wolfgang to call Bugenhagen, who promptly obeyed the summons, and found him in company with Kate, but more composed than he had

anticipated. Luther took his friend apart into his study, and, 1527.
when they were alone, opened his sorrows at some length, and requested to be allowed to make confession of his sins. This he did; and Bugenhagen pronounced the absolution; after which Luther asked him to offer up prayer in his behalf, and Luther also prayed himself. He expressed to his friend his resignation to the divine will, and spoke of the trials, little suspected by his adversaries, which he endured from the buffetings of Satan, and solicited that Bugenhagen would administer the sacrament to him the next day—Sunday. The conversation was protracted till the hour of dinner had nearly arrived, when Bugenhagen, hoping to dissipate the apprehensions which clouded Luther's spirits, reminded him of an engagement they had both made to dine with some noblemen, and urged him to keep the appointment. Luther accordingly went with him; and at dinner-time the flow of his spirits seemed returned, and his humour and vivacity were the life of the entertainment. After dinner, about twelve o'clock, however, he retired, and walked with Dr. Jonas in his garden for two hours, conversing on a variety of subjects, and labouring by such means to obtain some relief from his depression. He left Jonas after extracting the promise that he would be his guest, together with his wife, at supper in the evening. Returning to Kate, he laid himself down to get some repose, and was resting on his bed, when the guests came in at five o'clock. He rose to partake of supper with them, but complained of a singular sensation in the left ear and down the left back—a kind of roaring, like the rushing of the sea—which he knew to be a precursor of an entire prostration of strength. A fainting fit came upon him, and he was obliged to leave the apartment and return to his bed, Jonas accompanying him, whilst Kate stayed behind for a moment to give directions to the servant. In his bedroom he again fainted away,

1527. and called to Jonas to give him water, or he must die. Jonas threw some cold water on his face and neck. Believing his hour to be come, Luther turned to his God in earnest prayer, and repeated the sixth Psalm, expressing occasionally his resignation. "Thy will, O Lord, be done." When Kate entered, she was horror-struck at her husband's deathly pallid countenance, and sent the maidservant to hasten the physician, and meanwhile laboured to infuse animation by rubbing his limbs and administering cordials. Bugenhagen also was sent for, and arrived about six o'clock. He found Luther, as he informs us,* in bed, crying out, first in Latin and then in German, to God and to Christ, commending, in the near prospect of dissolution, the holy Gospel to the Most High, and regretting that he had not been found worthy to suffer in its behalf, but comforting himself with the reflection that neither had the beloved Apostle been admitted to this privilege, although St. John had written a far more powerful book against Popery than ever he had. Bugenhagen exhorted him to join with them in supplication that he might yet be spared to render consolation to others. Luther replied that death to him would be gain; but his continuance in the flesh might be advantageous to others. "Gracious God," he added, "thy will be done." Then, apprehensive that his enemies would circulate the calumny after his decease, that in his last moments he had retracted his doctrines, he called upon those present to bear witness to his solemn asseveration that he fully believed all that he had taught; nay, knew that what he had written and preached on faith, love, the Cross, and the Sacraments, was the plain truth. He went on to speak of the censures heaped on him by many, for his harsh and bitter

* See his account, followed by that of Jonas, Walch. XXI., pp. 159* —175*.

writings against the Papists and Fanatics; but protested that 1527.
whatever he had written against them had been from love to their souls, and for their real good: he had intended to write more against them, "the dear God, however, had determined otherwise respecting him." After praying with the utmost fervour, he turned to Kate, assured her that let the licentious world scoff as it might, she was his true and rightful wife, and exhorted her to put her trust in God, and make his word her guide. Whilst warm blankets and cushions were applied to his chest and feet, he inquired, "Where is Johnny?" The child was brought and smiled on his father, on which Luther exclaimed that he commended him and his mother to God. His possessions only amounted, he said, to a few silver drinking-cups; but he was persuaded God would provide for his beloved Kate, and for dearest Johnny; and he gave his Will into Kate's hands. It was as follows:—"I thank thee, my all-dear God, from the heart, that thou hast made me poor and a beggar upon earth: I have no house, fields, money, or property to bequeath to my wife and child. Thou hast given these to me, to thee therefore I restore them. Thou rich, faithful God, feed, teach, preserve them, even as thou hast fed, taught, and preserved me, thou Father of the fatherless and Judge of the widow." With great presence of mind Kate suppressed every exhibition of her alarm, and with serene countenance answered that she trusted God would yet restore him, not only for the sake of herself and child, but of the many Christians who still needed his counsel. Soon after this he fell into a profound sleep; a profuse perspiration spread over his frame, and when he awoke the next morning the malady was gone, leaving only extreme weakness behind it. He was even so much relieved as to be able to rise from his bed in the evening, and partake of supper with his friends. Four days later he wrote to Spalatin: "My strength had

1527. completely sunk; I had no hope, but expected to die in the arms of my wife and friends: but the Lord in mercy has raised me up speedily. Pray the Lord never to forsake his sinful servant."

The effects of this illness were for a long time felt by Luther; and, in consequence of the incapacitated state of his head, he was compelled to keep "a long holiday from reading and writing." His spirits were still depressed: but there is a cheering entry in a letter dated the 13th July. "The visitation has begun. Eight days ago Jerome Schurff and Philip set out on that mission. May Christ direct them! Amen!" In a letter to Melancthon, of the 2nd August, he refers to his dreadful sickness. "He seemed to have lost Christ," he said, "and was driven about with waves and storms of despair, and blasphemy against God; and was thus laid in death and hell for more than a week." The final attack of the malady had been so terrible, that he was still trembling in every limb after the storm was past. In answer, however, to the prayers of his saints, God had delivered him from the nethermost hell. "The plague," he adds, "is truly here, but we trust it will be mild."

Indeed, Wittenberg soon became a deserted city. The University and Professors took wing to Jena by the Elector's command; the magistrates quitted the pestilential circle; commerce, and all business transactions were interrupted; even Dr. Jonas, in whom more firmness might have been expected, fled to Nordhausen with his family, leaving a son plague-stricken, who subsequently died. Luther and Bugenhagen, with the deacons, were left alone to perform all that zeal and piety could dictate for those who yet remained in their homes. If any one could have justly advanced the plea of recent sickness and debilitated health for retiring out of reach of danger, it was Luther; but he proved himself the last

to listen to the counsel of timidity in preference to the voice of duty. His little son and Kate, who was again advanced in pregnancy, remained with him; and even their danger did not appal the father and husband, so rooted was his faith in God. On the 10th August the Elector addressed an earnest entreaty to Luther to provide for his own safety and that of his household, by quitting Wittenberg; but he returned a decided answer in the negative. Strong in the protection of Heaven, he was amongst the sick and the dying, offering consolation, or administering the sacred elements. The plague at length invaded his own dwelling: three young women in the convent were struck with it, one of them with such severity, that her life was long despaired of: but Luther and his immediate family altogether escaped the contagion. All trade being suspended, it was difficult to obtain the necessary supplies of life; and in this exigency the Reformer applied to the Elector, from whom he received this kind answer:— "Dear Doctor, take anything of mine you like." The only composition of any account which proceeded from Luther's pen during the whole of this sickly autumn, was a brief production which he was requested to write by some of the clergy of Breslau in elucidation of the question, "How far it may be allowable for a Christian to fly from the plague." He insisted that, to avoid danger was not only justifiable but a duty, unless a higher duty demanded the boldly encountering it. He corresponded regularly with Dr. Jonas, and repeated again and again the assurance that the violence and spread of the pestilence were greatly exaggerated. The depression of his spirits was much augmented by the pusillanimity which he witnessed on all sides, and he never doubted that the malice of Satan was at the bottom of the rumours and the apprehensions which were robbing of its students that University which the arch-fiend had "most reason to hate of all upon the face

1527.

1527. of the whole earth;" and he complained with deep dejection that even "where the devil could not reign by death, he yet reigned by the fear of death."

In the midst of these trials, the replies of Zwingle and Œcolampadius to his work against the Enthusiasts reached his hands; and somewhat later Erasmus's two books, entitled, "Hyperaspistes:" "Hyperasp," or "Hyper-viper," Luther called them. A letter from Zwingle, "in very fierce style," preceded his treatise. And from the letter Luther turned to the tract; but up to the 10th November he had only read a few pages. The other productions he did not even open at present. It afforded him, however, pleasure that the sarcastic bitterness of Erasmus was beginning to unclose the eyes of many who had persisted in praising the scholar of Rotterdam, and amongst others of Dr. Jonas, to the spirit which really animated him, and in this gratification Kate participated with lively sympathy.

A more welcome and encouraging sound than the din of controversy were the prayers of patient resignation and exulting faith poured forth by martyrs, together with their life's blood, in the cause of Christ. On the 16th August Leonhard Cæsar, who had been for some months imprisoned at Passau—where, in a public dispute with Eck, he had persevered in maintaining the doctrines of Scripture—being taken to Scherdingen, the place of his birth, was burnt at the stake, crying with his last breath, "I am thine, Jesu, save me!" "What am I, wretched man?" Luther exclaimed, on welcoming the news; "a wordy preacher compared with this mighty doer!" Cologne, too, had its martyrs by the inquisitorial zeal of Egmond and Hochstraten; and Luther composed a hymn in memory of their constancy. George Winkler, who had been summoned to answer before the Cardinal of Mentz for his tenets, after dismissal from the Archbishop's tribunal, being

put on the horse of the court fool, and made to start on his journey homewards without an attendant, was set upon by ruffians in a wood, near Aschaffenburg, and murdered. This dark tragedy had occurred at the end of May; it drew from Luther a brief consolatory epistle in the autumn to the people of Halle, where Winkler had been preacher, in which he prayed that "the murdered blood, like Abel's, might call from the ground to God for vengeance; or rather, like divine seed shed by wicked hands, might start up into life, instead of one murdered George a hundred preachers of the Gospel." "The world," he said, "is a tavern of which Satan is the landlord, and the sign over the doorway is Murder and Lying." 1527.

Meantime the plague was spreading consternation at Wittenberg. In the fishermen's suburb the fatality was greatest; but in all, up to the 19th August, there were only eighteen deaths, men, women, and children. Very few grown-up persons fell victims to it, and so far only two are mentioned, the wife of Tilo Dene, who expired almost in Luther's arms, and the sister of Eberhard, the ex-prior. The spiritual dejection of Luther—driven as it were more deeply into his soul by the dispersion of the University, the translation of the Prophets being at a stand-still, and the Word of God hindered in its course—attended him as he roamed the abandoned city, visited the sick, and cheered the timid. "Satan," he wrote to Agricola, "is raging against me with all his force: the Lord has set me as a sign like another Job. My hope is, that my agony has reference to others besides myself, although there is no evil which my own sins have not deserved; my life is, that I know I have taught Christ's Word purely and sincerely, and this vexes Satan. I know the tyrants of this world will not touch me; others will be slain, and burnt for the testimony of Christ; but I shall undergo spiritual and worse tortures from the prince of this world himself." "May

1527. the rumour of pestilence," he wrote to another, "meet Christ the great physician, so that our friends may again assemble to fulfil our important task." On the 19th October the intelligence communicated to Jonas was, that up to that date no more than fifteen had died out of more than a hundred cases of plague in the hospital, and that of forty-eight patients whom Dr. Bohem had received under his care, in the plague, only eight had died. "You see that prayers to Christ are not void." The bulletin of the 1st November, sent to Amsdorf, was less satisfactory. Luther's house had been turned into a hospital. Three young women, residing in the convent, had been seized with the plague; one of them, Margaret Mochinna, was labouring under a very violent attack; Kate, too, was near her confinement, and Johnny had eaten nothing for three days, from the pain of teething. The wife of George, the Chaplain or Deacon, who was expecting her confinement, was just struck with the pestilence. "Battles without and fears within," Luther said; "but Christ visits us." The mighty christian spirit, who was the support of the tried at this conjuncture, was himself sorely beset with spiritual temptations: "like Job or Peter, tossed by Satan;" but he added, "May Christ say to the tempter, 'Touch not his life;' and to me, 'I am thy salvation.'" In this state of things, however, he looked beyond present trials, and burned to write again against the Sacramentarians; but, immediately feeling his bodily weakness, relinquished the project. His great comfort, as he reiterates in his correspondence, was, "We have the Word of God, a shield against Satan:" and with fervent gratitude for what that word had already achieved, he dates a letter to Amsdorf, "Wittenberg, All Saints Day, the Tenth Anniversary since Indulgences were trampled underfoot."

Three days later the tidings conveyed to Jonas were, that

the wife of George the Chaplain, struck with the pestilence, 1527.
had been prematurely in labour: the child was dead; and she had followed it—"in hearty faith departed to Christ." This event had diffused a general panic, and Bugenhagen and his wife had taken up their quarters with Luther and Kate, in the convent, in order that the two pastors' families might mutually aid and solace one another. Kate was still "firm in faith;" but Johnny continued ill, and the cause of his malady was dubious. Beyond the convent walls, however, the intelligence was more cheering. In the fishermen's suburb the plague had exhausted its force, and marriages were recommencing; but even this improvement, it was feared, might be delusive, for eight days earlier the plague had seemed spent, when it suddenly returned with a change of wind, and twelve deaths occurred in one day. A few days later, however, the state of things was much improved, and Margaret Mochinna was getting better; but Luther was very anxious on Kate's account, and Johnny was "so ill that he could only ask for Dr. Jonas' prayers." "I trust," Luther said, pouring out his heart to his friend, "that we shall yet be together again, and finish the version of Ecclesiastes. I deem myself the last of men. Would that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians could for one quarter of an hour feel the misery of my heart! I could say for certain they would be sincerely converted and made whole. How my enemies persecute him whom God hath smitten! But it cannot be but that one whom the world and its Prince so hates is pleasing to Christ. May Christ, whom I have purely taught and confessed, be my rock and strength." "It is no common soldier of his troop, but the captain of devils himself," he wrote to Hausmann, "who has risen against me." "As for what the world may be about, the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings, I care not," he said to Link; "I am sighing for Christ and

1527. his grace. Satan would have me never write again, but descend with him to hell. May Christ trample him under-foot, Amen." On the 29th November, Luther addressed a letter to Jonas, informing him that the plague had nearly disappeared, marriages were again solemnized, and business was beginning to resume its ordinary routine. Margaret Mochinna, it was hoped, would recover; but as yet her hearing had not returned, and she could only speak with great difficulty. The wife of John the Chaplain, Luther had placed in Jonas' house, as that quarter of the town was free from the pestilence; and the fate of the wife of George, her husband's associate, had impressed her mind with the deepest alarm. But, if the plague should break out in that quarter, he promised Jonas to remove her immediately from the asylum which his empty house had afforded. The intelligence of the 10th December reported that only two cases of plague remained in the hospital, and they had ceased to be serious: Margaret Mochinna was recovering; but, as it were in ransom for the lives of the household, the pestilence had destroyed five pigs of the convent: nothing had been heard of the plague for two months in the fishermen's district; the students were even beginning to return, and Jerome Schurff was expected by Christmas.

On the day of such joyful tidings a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, was born to Luther, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and both the infant and the mother seemed protected from above. "Glory and praise," he exclaimed, "be to my Father in heaven, Amen." Johnny too was well again, and in high good-humour. Four days later the plague was pronounced to have disappeared totally: but Luther's spiritual trials were of a more inveterate nature, and he continued to disclose his anguish to his friends. "I have hurt Satan by many books, and therefore he rages against me; but let him rage

against Christ, who has really hurt him, through me, his weakest vessel." "I seem to hang to Christ by a thread, but Satan is drawing me to him with a cable." His health was now so far re-established, that he could once more employ it in completing his commentary on Zechariah, which his terrible illness had interrupted when it was only half accomplished. He intended to have this commentary published before the Leipsic fair; and then to exert all his powers against the Sacramentarians in a second and final confutation. He also "challenged" the Anabaptists in a brief epistle. The arguments against the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists were adapted to the understanding of the simpler sort, who were particularly obnoxious to the plausibility of their rationalistic tenets. 1527.

At the end of November, when the virulence of the plague had spent itself, Luther left Wittenberg for a short time, and repaired to Torgau, to the Electoral palace. The object of this visit was to adjust some difference which had arisen between Melancthon on one side, and Agricola on the other, in regard to "The Visitation Articles," framed by the pen of Philip, and comprising, together with the formula of public worship, instructions to the ministers in regard to what they should teach the people. Agricola objected to these "Articles," that Melancthon had contradicted in them one of Luther's foremost principles, that Repentance must proceed from love to God and not from fear; and he complained also that the law of Moses was prescribed to be rehearsed to the people, although Christians were no longer under the Law. Melancthon replied that Repentance included in it both fear and love, fear of God's wrath on account of sin, ending in the acceptance of Christ's salvation and the consequent love of the Saviour; and, as to the Ten Commandments not being obligatory on Christians, there was not one of them which

1527. had not been re-established and enforced by the Saviour and his Apostles, and therefore the Decalogue supplied a concise and comprehensive summary of a Christian's duty. Luther was well aware that personal conceit and jealousy of Philip lay at the root of Agricola's strictures; he had himself previously examined the Visitation Book and given it his approval; he listened accordingly, together with Bugenhagen, with great patience to what was advanced on both sides, and then gave an interpretation of his own meaning in his statements as to Repentance and Faith, which satisfied both parties: and having thus effected a peaceful settlement, for the present at least, on the subjects of debate, he returned to Wittenberg.

The plague which had desolated Wittenberg, and swept through the Reformer's dwelling, without being permitted to destroy life, had visited some other towns with greater fury; and at Dresden, Emser, the Papist champion, had fallen a victim to it in November, after publishing in the preceding August a version of the New Testament in opposition to Luther's, stolen piecemeal in reality for the most part from the latter. To this version Duke George had prefixed a preface, replete with abuse of Luther and the Elector; and the Reformer was meditating a reply to it, when the death of Emser stayed his hand. The loss of his Professor was much felt by the Duke, who installed Cochlæus, a worthy successor, in the vacant chair. But, besides the contagion of pestilence, the season had everywhere been sickly. Spalatin had been seriously ill, and Duke George himself was ailing.

Among the fugitives, driven by the dread of the plague from the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, was Carlstadt; but before this he had distinctly and openly returned to his sacramentarian errors, which, it would seem, he had never in reality relinquished, but had hypocritically dissembled; for in the

statement which he gave to Chancellor Bruck of his doctrinal sentiments, and the arguments by which he supported them, mention occurs of the composition having occupied him a whole year. Luther remarks, in his correspondence about the end of October, "For some weeks Carlstadt has been absent from his place; let him go to his own place, for no kindness can reclaim him." But as yet the ex-professor had no intention of quitting the Saxon territory: he returned towards the close of November, when Luther, in a courteous and even kind letter, made a fresh overture to him for reconciliation, pointing his attention to the feeble ground of syllables and letters on which his reasoning was built. But this elicited no direct reply from Carlstadt; and, on the 28th November, Luther writes, "We have been nourishing him thus far in our bosom in the hope that he would return to the right way; but the wretched man grows more hardened day by day." The following year, however, Carlstadt made his answer to Luther's letter, not in a direct way, but in an epistle to his friends and allies, Crautwald and Swenkfeld, written in a vein of excessive vanity, in which, in an air of triumphant superiority, he ridiculed some of Luther's assertions,* and thanked God that he had "given him such a sharp pen." This conduct the Reformer regarded as mean and unmanly, and, being much incensed by it, sent word to Carlstadt that for the time to come he must renounce all discussion or communication with him. Carlstadt, in reply, entered a complaint with the Elector against Luther's treatment of him in a letter to Chancellor Bruck, and craved the protection of the Saxon Court; but as it appeared that he had broken the promise on which a return to Saxony had been granted him, not only by his letter 1527.

* "This Luther," he wrote, "says that we drink forgiveness of sins out of the cup. Oho!"

1527. to Swenkfeld, but by the secret publication of other controversial writings, the Court was meditating measures of a more stringent nature, and was deliberating on retaining him in Saxony under a species of custody, to prevent the dissemination of his noxious principles. But whilst this was in contemplation Carlstadt himself, towards the winter of 1528, broke up camp for good, and secretly betook himself to Schleswig Holstein, to raise, as Luther and Melancthon apprehended, "some new tragedy there." The authorities, however, were on their guard, and drove him beyond the boundaries. The remainder of Carlstadt's history may be best added in this place. In the spring of 1529 he turned his wandering steps to Friesland, and sent for his wife from Saxony, who meanwhile had found in Luther her chief friend and support, and who now made application through him to the Court that her husband might again be permitted to return to Saxony. This application was rejected; and then Carlstadt directed his fugitive steps to Switzerland, where, in a country of religious sentiments congenial to his own, a cordial reception greeted him: he first went to Zurich, and was made dean of the Cathedral Church by Zwingle. After Zwingle's death he removed to Basle, where he preached in St. Peter's Church, and was installed in a professor's chair, and died there on Christmas Day, 1541.

The plague having disappeared, and Luther's health being re-established, he returned to his writings with the fullest determination to make amends for lost time; and, before the close of 1527, his Commentary on Zechariah was published.

1528. Before the 5th February of the next year his "Epistle against the Anabaptists, or Katabaptists," as he denominated them, "written with a good deal of haste," made its appearance; and about the same time the Visitation Articles, composed, as has been said, originally by Melancthon, but increased by

additions from Luther's pen on matrimonial questions, and 1528.
the communion in both kinds, were in the press, but delayed by scarcity of paper. In March, just in time for the Frankfort fair, his "Great Confession,"* in opposition to the Sacramentarian tenets, was given to the public; and about the same period his "Sermons on the Book of Genesis" were published, which had been taken down from his lips by some of his audience, and then submitted to him for revisal. One of the principal objects of these discourses was to oppose the fanatical spirit, which, notwithstanding Munzer's execution, and the ruin of his partisans, was still labouring, as Luther complained, to "turn Christians into Jews, and to put a false interpretation upon the Old Testament," and which, unhappily, from the licentious principles which it encouraged, continued to be on the increase among the lower orders. Before the end of May the translation of Isaiah was progressing favourably; before the end of October it was published.

* It consisted of three parts. 1. That the Sacramentarians have never answered a letter of his arguments. 2. The statements of Scripture on the subject of the Lord's Supper. 3. A general confession of his faith.—Under this last head he declared his belief in the Trinity; the Corruption of Human Nature; the Redemption by Christ applied to the heart by the Holy Ghost; *one* Baptism, the virtue of which as God's ordinance cannot be lost, although faith be wanting; the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's very body and blood to all communicants, because God's ordinance cannot be broken by want of faith in the priest or people; the Church the commonwealth of Christians, not only under the Pope, but in all the world, the one bride and mystical body of the one bridegroom, Jesus; in that true Church Forgiveness of sins; Papal Pardons mere roguery; Prayer for the Dead *conditionally* not sinful; Purgatory not spoken of in Scripture; Christ the only Mediator; Repentance only the "use and power of Baptism;" Images, surplices, altar-candles, &c., indifferent; the Resurrection of the just to live for ever with Christ, and of the unjust to die for ever with Satan.

1528. Rarely has the first vigour of returning health been subjected to a severer ordeal of intellectual energy.

With full occupation the burden of spiritual trials became lighter; and on the 25th February Luther wrote to Link, "My Satan, by your prayers, is at length more supportable." At the close of the year 1527 his patriotic solicitude had been excited by the progress of the Turks, who, in conjunction with the forces of John Zapolya the Woiwode, and backed by the King of France, were threatening to overrun the south of Germany. "The Turk is making vast preparations for a return to Hungary, and will shed, I fear, much German blood." But shortly afterwards an anxiety nearer home was added to the dread of the Ottoman scimetar. A Diet had been summoned to meet at Ratisbon in the spring: it was understood that the Papist party were already straining every nerve to attain their aims by a powerful combination: King Ferdinand was proscribing heresy under every denomination throughout his kingdoms, to the joy of the bishops; and a rupture with the Pontiff could not be expected a second time to relieve the evangelical cause from its perils just when they had reached their height. At such a conjuncture even the arms of the Sultan seemed to some a seasonable diversion rather than an object of terror: so that Luther indited a treatise on the "War against the Turks," to show that he at least had no share in such lack of national spirit and counsels of expediency. "Satan," he said, "rages with such fury that I think the day of the saints' redemption must be nigh." On March 2nd he wrote to Hausmann, "The threats of the mass-priests are very big in expectation of the Diet at Ratisbon. Pray diligently with your church for the princes of Germany, that God may give them his grace." But the storm blew over for this year: the sitting of the National Council was postponed, not by the Turkish invasion,

but by unexpected events, which to some judgments remain to this day involved in mystery. 1528.

Otto Pack, sprung from a noble family in Misnia, and a doctor of laws, was one of the councillors of Duke George of Saxony, and had sometimes discharged the functions of Chancellor to the Court of Dresden. He had gone to Cassel in 1527 on business in connexion with the Count of Nassau, and having gained the confidence of Philip of Hesse, had disclosed to him a momentous treaty, entered into by Duke George and his Popish partisans, for no less an object than the extermination of the evangelical doctrines, and the subversion of the states and princes who adhered to them. The parties to the league were King Ferdinand, Albert of Mentz, Joachim of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, the Dukes of Bavaria, and Duke George himself. The league had been formed at Breslaw, and the instrument of confederation bore date the 12th May, 1527. It declared that, unless the Elector John delivered up Martin Luther, Saxony and Thuringia were to be occupied by King Ferdinand, Franconia by the Bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, and Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia by Duke George; but, after the ends of the confederacy had been attained, a different partition of the occupied territories was to take place between the combining parties for permanent possession. And it was set down in the instrument of compact what amount of forces the several partisans should contribute. The Landgrave's case was made the subject of a special agreement: he was to be forced to submission; but, in consideration of his youth, and the relationship in which he stood to Duke George, his dominions were to be restored to him on his renouncing the Lutheran heresy. The obstacle opposed to such a league by the existing treaty of confraternity between the Elector of Saxony and his near kinsman Duke

1528. George was considered and removed by reference to the terms of "the Saxon Union," which especially excepted those cases in which the Pope or Emperor might be concerned. Pack assured Philip that if he would pay a visit to Dresden, he would place the very instrument of federation in his hands. And, on the Landgrave's complying with his request, on the 18th February, he produced a copy of the document, taken, as he said, from the ducal chancery, and signed with the name of Duke George, but cut into strips and inserted in another parchment, round which a silken thread was tied, stamped with the ducal seal. Pack insisted that the original instrument to the same purport existed, duly signed and attested, but that the seal of Duke George was broken, which showed that he had ceased to be a party to the confederation; and he promised, on the payment of 4000 florins, to procure this autograph itself for the Landgrave's inspection. Philip, according to his own assertion, paid down this sum, and shortly afterwards quitted Dresden, his suspicions ripened into conviction, and his military ardour inflamed to an irrepressible degree.

He was not long in acquainting his allies with the formidable conspiracy to their common detriment which had come to his knowledge. He had a meeting with the Elector at Weimar, and succeeded, by the promise of exhibiting the autograph treaty, in persuading him that his fears of a Popish plot were well grounded, so that the two princes entered into a formal compact, on the 9th March, to "protect, with body, dignity, possession, and every means in their power, the sacred deposit of God's word for themselves and their subjects." They next looked around for allies from amongst their evangelical neighbours, and trusted, by means of the Duke of Prussia, to be able to incite the King of Poland against King Ferdinand, to keep the Franconian Bishops in check by the arms of George of

Brandenburg, to obtain auxiliaries from the Dukes of Lune- 1528.
burg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, and the city of Magdeburg; and, for themselves, they agreed to equip a force of 6000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. They likewise proposed forming a league with the King of Denmark. But, at this stage of the proceedings, sounder councils came to the aid of one of the confederating parties: and the Elector was admonished by the strong sense of Luther to beware of playing an aggressive part. Various papers of advice were drawn up by Luther, and signed by himself and Melancthon, in which they warned the Elector against being carried away by the Landgrave's heat and impetuosity, and implored him to bear no part in the terrible drama of shedding blood, but to send an embassage to the Emperor and to Ferdinand to apprise their Majesties of the plots of the murderous princes, and by all means to put a stop to the muster of their forces, who would be sure, once met, to make some work to their hands. "Even the holy King Josiah," the Reformers said, "when he went out against Pharaoh and fought against him, was slain. By this world's law no one is punished till he has first been heard; so Porcius Festus declared in St. Paul's case; and God did not condemn Adam before he had called him to answer for himself —Adam, where art thou? There is strife enough uninvited, and it cannot be well to paint the devil over the door, or ask him to be godfather. Battle never wins much, but always loses much, and hazards all: meekness loses nothing, hazards little, and wins all."* And when Luther was at Weimar

* De Wette, III. pp. 314—323. "Considerations of Luther and Melancthon," without a date. De Wette would assign May; but the true date of the first paper is clearly April or March. Cf. Seck. II. p. 95. There is a letter of Melancthon to Bruck, dated May 17, thanking the Elector for listening to their counsel, (Bret. II. p. 728,) in which he states that to make war when God offered means of peace could never be right, and that Luther agreed with him.

1528. and Torgau a little later, with Melancthon—at which time he was so oppressed by spiritual trials that he could not forbear, as Philip relates, opening his heart to him in private—he personally assured the Elector, that, sorry as he and his fellow professors would be to quit Wittenberg, the first clash of arms would be the signal of their leaving it. Such representations, ably seconded by Bruck, addressed both to the Elector and his son, had so much influence, that, on the 23rd April, John entered into another convention with Philip in mitigation of the former, and sent first his son John Frederic, and immediately afterwards one of his councillors, the Baron Wildenfels, to check the Landgrave's haste, who was already at the head of an army, and meditating an irruption into the ecclesiastical dominions. The Elector, however, suffered part of his forces to assemble at the foot of the Thuringian forest; and, perhaps, such conduct was more prudent than holding back entirely, which might have incensed the Landgrave into immediate operations.

On the 17th May Philip wrote to his father-in-law, and ironically thanked him for the exceptional clause which his kindness had inserted in the treaty in his favour; he sent him a copy of that document; assured him that, for his part, he should "never return to the devil's worship;" and finally implored him that he would recede from the league, in which case his son-in-law and all his resources would ever be at his command for his defence and safety. Duke George immediately replied that the treaty was an entire fabrication. But the Landgrave had not waited for his father-in-law's answer, or for the Elector's co-operation, but, on the 22nd May, published a manifesto of the causes which had moved him to take up arms: to which he annexed a copy of the treaty which the bishops and princes had concocted "for the suppression of the living and blessed word of God, and the destruc-

tion of its adherents:" a conspiracy the execution of which 1528.
he was resolved to anticipate by striking the first blow. He pitched his camp on the borders of Hesse and Franconia, near the monastery of Herren Breitungen, on the banks of the Vierre.

But the secret of the plot was now out, for Duke George had published the Landgrave's letter and his own reply; and from all quarters there appeared letters from those implicated by Pack's accusation, in unequivocal denial of any participation or knowledge of the alleged confederacy, and denouncing the forger of the pretended document as a villain. Messengers also passed between the Elector and Ferdinand, and the latter unhesitatingly declared the whole an invention. The Landgrave himself was now unable any longer to hold out in his warlike determination. One difficulty, however, still stood in the way of peace. Philip of Hesse persisted in demanding pecuniary satisfaction, on account of the expenditure which his military preparations had involved; and it was to no purpose that Luther and Melancthon requested of the Elector that considerations of such a nature might be no obstacle to such a blessing as public quiet. Whatever expense may have been incurred, they said, let it be regarded in the light of a casualty from fire or tempest, or as if it were a loss sustained in the late peasant rebellion. The Elector himself was satisfied, and relinquished every demand; but the Landgrave was obstinate, that remuneration should be made him. Very bitter letters were exchanged between him and his father-in-law. At length a settlement was accomplished in regard to the Elector of Mentz and the Bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, by the assiduous mediation of the Electors of Treves and the Palatinate, according to which Albert consented to pay 40,000 florins, the Bishop of Wurzburg 40,000, and the Bishop of Bamberg 20,000, rather than subject their

1528. territories to the infliction of an armed invasion. The differences with the Suabian League were not arranged until the very close of the year, when the good feeling and perseverance of the Elector Palatine triumphed over this impediment to concord. His efforts, also, were at last successful in effecting a reconciliation between the son and father-in-law; and, in the month of September, the angry correspondence ceased, and they met again on amicable terms. Thus all possible means were employed to preclude any bad consequences to the cause of religious truth from this unfortunate affair; but the Landgrave's violent temper, and hasty adoption of unfounded suspicions, supplied a ready handle for misrepresentation to the enemies of reform; and a letter from Charles to the Elector of Saxony, dated from Toledo, the 19th November, rated John, in harsh language, as the fomenter of dissension, and, in arbitrary terms, designated as high treason the levying an army without imperial warrant.

The Landgrave would not consent, from personal considerations, to deliver Pack out of his own keeping to undergo a trial: but he had him examined on the 20th June and for several successive days at Cassel, in the presence of delegates from Ferdinand, the Electors of Treves, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, and Duke George. The councillor of Duke George was the accuser. Pack persisted in asserting that the plot was a reality. His own letters from Hesse, recounting that Philip had been deceived by the pretence of a conspiracy, were adduced against him; and the copy he had shown to the Landgrave was not forthcoming from the Dresden Chancery. He replied that he had destroyed it to avoid suspicion, because he had been unable to re-insert it as it was before in the parchment which had been rolled and tied round it; and his letters had been indited with the express object of throwing dust in the eyes of Duke George's

chancellor, that no hinderance might intervene to his gaining 1528.
possession of the autograph itself. The copy, he said, had been made by Wurisyn, an amanuensis frequently employed by the Duke; but it turned out that this referee was a person of no character, and had been banished from the Court. The only support on which his defence could be rested with any show of probability was the idea current in all quarters, that some such bond had been entered into by the Papist princes, and the fact that, some years before, meetings had been convened in various places in which the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy had formed the topic of deliberation. Pack alleged anxiety to serve Duke George as the motive of his conduct, and would not allow that he had received any money from the Landgrave. Thus the examination terminated. Pack was for some time detained in custody by the Landgrave, and then banished from Hesse, and was indebted for some time to Luther's influence for the protection of an asylum. Afterwards he wandered about in various parts of Belgium for some years; but the persecution of Duke George still tracked his footsteps, and he was in 1536 apprehended by the Duke's agents, brought to trial, and suffered death by decapitation. He denied having fabricated the plot to the last; some of his statements reflected discredit on the Landgrave and the Elector, but the latter did not think it necessary to make his defence, and refused to permit the affair to be re-opened.

It must be attributed to the Christian principles and sagacity of Luther that the Reformation was not shipwrecked on the hidden shoal of the "Otto Pack league;" but the Reformer, on the other hand, was far from assenting to those who could see in the alleged confederacy nothing but a chimera, which only the impetuous blood and excitable fancy of the Prince of Hesse had conjured into existence. Pack, indeed, might have

1528. manufactured the copy of the treaty which he showed to Philip; but he pronounced it to be his firm conviction that a confederacy for the definite purpose of exterminating evangelical truth did exist; and that the popular rumours so widely circulated were not groundless. How was it to be supposed that those princes would shrink from a wholesale and effectual accomplishment of their wishes, who were constantly murdering by detail, and attempting to drown the Gospel in the blood of its adherents? "You see what commotions," Luther wrote to Link, on the 14th June, "that league of impious princes, which they deny, has excited. I interpret the cold excuse of Duke George into a confession. But, whatever denials, excuses, or fictions they may offer, I know for certain that the league was not a mere nothing, or chimera, monster sufficiently monstrous as it is. Every one knows that they would extinguish the Gospel if they could. We do not believe such godless men, although we joyfully give them peace. God will confound that fool of fools who, like Moab, is bold beyond his power." In several other letters he declared his judgment of the matter with equal distinctness; and spoke of Duke George, in similar language, as "that ass of asses," or "that clown." "All their acts, edicts, and endeavours show," he repeated, "that the league is not a fiction." "May the plot fall on the head of the clown who plotted it! There are strange mysteries in that league: but let it be; there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed."

It is certainly no proof of consciousness of innocence on the part of Duke George that, far from forgiving and forgetting the exiled Pack, he continued the pursuit till his emissaries hunted him down and then put him to death. Later in the year the letter of Luther to Link came to the Duke's knowledge. Indeed, Luther recited it from the pulpit to make public his own opinion of a transaction which was the

general topic with all classes. Full of indignation, Duke 1528.
George wrote to the Reformer to inquire whether he acknowledged the letter in question as his own. The epistle of Duke George was in a vein of great arrogance: and Luther replied to it that he was not the Duke's prisoner; his patience had been sufficiently tried by the preface to Emser's version of the New Testament, and his Grace had better seek the information he desired from those whom he had a right to command; but he added, more mildly, "I pity your great afflictions, and would willingly, with your leave, pray that they may be averted." The Duke's secretary was despatched to Nuremberg to obtain, by fair or foul means, the letter in question to Link, who acknowledged to the Senate that it was really Luther's. But though many manœuvres were resorted to by the ducal emissary, Link would not himself show him the letter: he placed it in the hands of Scheurl, the town clerk, by whom permission was granted to read it, and take a copy. This was not contrary to Luther's wish, but he expressed his surprise that Scheurl should be on such an intimate standing with the Romanist faction: Melancthon imputed a good deal of blame to Link himself, and wrote him a sharp admonition to use caution and judgment, so much needed in dealing with the private correspondence of such a writer as Luther. On the return of the secretary with the copy, Duke George wrote a statement of his grievances to the Elector, complaining with deeply wounded pride of the light esteem in which Luther's answer to his letter proved that he was held by him. The fault, Luther replied, in his own vindication, is that Duke George is "held in too high esteem by himself," which made him forget to write to me "as Duke George." The Elector laboured to appease his enraged cousin, and it might at length be hoped that the matter would be

1528. suffered to sleep. But Duke George's irascibility was not so easily quieted. A treatise published by Luther against the Bishop of Meissen, on "Communion in both Kinds," made mention of "a treacherous plot of which it ought to shame those who had had a hand in it." The Duke took fire at the expression: there was the idea of the "Pack plot" running in his head, and he supposed that that must be meant. He therefore resolved to publish the celebrated letter to Link, with an apology annexed, in which the authorship of the plot was ascribed to the Reformer himself, and Pack was represented as playing an underpart to a mightier hand: eight thousand impressions were struck off. The intention of publishing the "Letter and Apology" at the next fair became known to Luther, who accordingly furnished himself with a counter missive, in a tract on "Private Letters surreptitiously obtained," which he contrived should be ready for publication at the same time. But as Duke George seized every mode of venting his spleen on the Elector of Saxony, and had scurrilously assailed him in the "Apology," Luther addressed his patron with the request that he would "with confidence expose him to a trial, for he had far rather hazard his own neck than that his Grace's person should on his account incur a hair-breadth of danger. The Christ in him would be man enough against the malignant devil, both in right and speech."

The Duke's Apology appeared on the 29th December, and in the beginning of the next year Luther's tract on Stolen Letters followed; but the Reformer's violence of language displeased most of his friends excepting Amsdorf, and Melancthon lamented that age instead of mitigating added to his vehemence. He complained to Myconius, after reading a copy of the tract sent him by John Frederic before it had been seen in Wittenberg, "In two days the booksellers will

have dispersed thousands of copies amongst us; and even now 1528.
nothing else is talked about." The letter to Link had been exhibited in a German version,* and the Reformer, besides expatiating on the meanness of scrutinizing, searching out, and copying private letters, charged the translation with incorrectness, which he imputed to the Chancellor, but for which the Duke himself was really answerable. Luther said much of the origin of his opposition to Popery, a path on which he had been forced undesignedly by the influence of events: he attacked the edict of Worms as illegal, inasmuch as it was framed and signed by the Emperor on his own authority without the consent of the States; and he declared himself plenarily acquitted by the Recess of the recent Diet of Spires. As to the Pack business, he said that he held Duke George publicly excused, but he must be allowed to entertain what suspicions on the subject he pleased, for his thoughts were free. The tract moved Duke George's temper to a far greater pitch of fury than had possessed him before. He sent two of his councillors to the Elector to represent his grievances. John, on his side, acted as an impartial umpire; he reproved Duke George for his warmth, and charged Luther thenceforth to publish nothing in reference to himself or the Duke unless it had previously been sanctioned by the Court, and to submit all his theological treatises to the judgment of the University, as his brother had ordained. But Duke George was not satisfied with this: he insisted that Luther should be punished. At length, on the 18th February, the Elector wrote to him to request that their correspondence on the subject might cease, and the matter be dropped.

The absorbing importance of the Pack plot, whilst it prevented, as has been said, the meeting of the Diet for this

* See Herzog Georgs Verantwortung. Walch. XVI., pp. 506-521.

1528. year, did not interrupt the progress of the visitation. For this purpose the Electoral dominions were divided into four districts. Electoral Saxony and Misnia were appointed to Luther, aided by a council of laymen; and, whenever the Reformer might be impeded by any other of his multifarious engagements, Jonas and Bugenhagen were to act in his stead. Osterland, in which were situated Altenberg and Zwickau, and Voigtland, were distributed to Spalatin and two more clergymen, with several lay assistants, among whom were Wildenfels and Feilitsch. Thuringia was assigned to Melancthon, Jerome Schurf, Planitz, and others, who had partially entered upon their duties in the preceding autumn. And for the part of Franconia under Saxon jurisdiction, two lay and four clerical commissioners were nominated. In each of the four districts the principle of blending civilians and clergymen in the commission was maintained, according to Luther's advice, in order that the purely spiritual matters, and such business as was rather of a temporal and financial nature, might be kept distinct, and devolve respectively on separate and duly qualified officials. All the expenses were defrayed from the Electoral treasury.

The commissioners were to allow a subsistence to such ministers as, being very aged and unfit for any secular employment, persevered in attachment to Popery: such younger ministers as held bad doctrine, they were to instruct in better, and if their teaching had no effect, to punish and remove them from their parishes; such as taught well and lived ill, they were also to remove; they were to preach against all sedition, and exhort the people, in lieu of the offerings and the money paid for masses under the Romanist system, to make contributions towards the salaries of the ministers; they were to take a strict account of the revenues of parishes and monasteries, excepting the benefices in the patronage of

the Elector; where the parish was too poor to support a 1528.
minister, they were to appoint the necessary stipend to be drawn from the Electoral coffers; and, if possible, to set apart one-third of the revenues of churches under private patronage, in aid of the poverty of patrons, and for placing out their daughters in marriage. The commissioners were also to catechise the poor in the Christian faith; and were to compel such as retained their old Romish opinions, as well as the disseminators of seditious principles, if admonitions addressed to them from time to time proved fruitless, to sell their goods, and quit the country. The commissioners were likewise to appoint superintendents from among the pastors of the principal parishes, to serve the office of a standing board, to which matrimonial questions, and matters of church discipline could be referred, as well as to exercise a general supervision over the clergy, and report delinquents to the Elector.

The early part of the year had been devoted by Luther to translating into German, with a few additions, Melancthon's Latin text of the Visitation Articles, and prefixing a preface of his own. The Articles in their vernacular dress appeared in the summer; and the autumn was devoted to the active duties of a commissioner. The visitation was Luther's principal object of attention throughout the year; and he was several times called from home to arrange with the Elector different points of detail. On the 18th March, in a pelting storm, he journeyed to Borna, breakfasted with Spalatin at Altenburg the next morning, and afterwards stayed with the Elector at Torgau from March 28 till April 7, when he returned to Wittenberg. On the 1st May he was again called from home, and, as has been already mentioned, was the Elector's guest at Weimar. Just as his labour in revising, translating, and superintending the printing of the Visitation Articles was gra-

1528. tified by success, a severe domestic trial—the death of his infant daughter—broke for a time his spirits, but without suspending his industry. On the 5th August he wrote to Hausmann—"My little Elizabethula is dead: it is strange how weak and womanlike my heart is at the loss. I could never have supposed a father's feelings to be so tender towards his child." A month later the joyful notice appears: "The visitation is all arranged: the Prince has informed me that the commissioners are to set out immediately." And so Philip and many others did. But Luther was still detained. On the 25th October he paid a flying visit to Lochau, to marry his friend Michael Stiefel, who had, by his recommendation, been installed there as pastor, to the widow of his predecessor in the cure: and Isaiah having been printed, at the end of October he proceeded on his visitation with his four fellow commissioners. He speaks of himself at this period as overwhelmed with occupation. "I am visitor, lecturer, preacher, writer, auditor, actor, courier, and what not!"

The most remarkable feature in this visitation, as far as it exemplifies the character of Luther, is the extreme moderation with which everything was conducted: through fear of going too far, he scarcely went far enough; an instance, to be added to many others, in proof of the fact, that, violent and headstrong as he was in controversy, in action he was all peace and calmness. The revenues of the abbeys and cathedrals were left untouched, beyond being made to contribute to the salaries of the parish ministers, and to the support of schools. The appropriation of endowments was rarely disturbed; and it was chiefly in reference to the vacant benefices that the commissioners interfered. In dealing with individuals, Luther was charitable beyond the letter of the visitation book, and, in opposition to the expulsion clause, pleaded with the Elector in several instances, that it was far better to let the

obstinate Romanists remain, than force them from the country 1528.
to do mischief where their opportunities would be greater. In some convents the nuns were permitted to remain: and several old Romish monks were not driven from their chimney corners, but allowed the retreat of their monasteries, with a sufficient maintenance for the rest of their lives. The phrase "commended to God" was applied to such cases, and denoted that the desirable change was left to time. "We will leave its hours to the day, and commend the cause to God," was Luther's favourite verdict in a doubtful question; and no less moderate were the doctrinal views insisted upon. Faith was not to be separated from Repentance. The ministers were to preach Christianity rather than fling stones at Romanism from their pulpits. At the same time that the spiritual impotence of the will was to be enlarged upon, the moral freedom of the will was also to be vindicated; that a man can, if he choose, abstain from murder, adultery, and robbery, according to St. Paul's declaration—"The Gentiles do by nature the things contained in the law." The people were to pray to God, not to saints. The real presence in the Sacrament was to be inculcated, and it was to be administered, by all means, in both kinds; yet exceptional cases might possibly be permitted. Luther applied himself, with a deep sense of the importance of the work, to catechising the poor. He heard them pray, and questioned them as to their faith, with the greatest gentleness and patience. It is related by Mathesius that on one occasion he asked a peasant to repeat the Belief, who began, "I believe in God Almighty" —— Here Luther stopped him. "What do you mean by 'Almighty?'" "I know not," the peasant replied. "True, my good man," said Luther; "neither I nor any learned men do know that. Only believe that God is thy dear and true Father, who will and can, and knows, as the Allwise Lord, how to

1528. help thee, thy wife and children, in time of need. That is enough."

Another striking feature of Luther's character, as exemplified at this time, but which might be expected, from the strong sense of a mind used to influence and govern others, is the preference shown by him in such a marked way to the practical and useful over the merely theoretical. He might have given the Saxon Church a democratic development, after the example of the Hessian Church, as organised a little earlier by Francis Lambert; and his own ideas of Christianity were not at all at variance with the most democratic framework of a church establishment, as his tract on the Institution of Ministers sufficiently proves. But his penetration at once saw that such an ecclesiastical system was unsuited to the peculiar condition of society in Saxony. So far from there being a large amount of well-directed religious feeling among the lower orders, he had continually to lament its deficiency, and commonly spoke of the mass of his countrymen as "my drunken Germans." He regarded the strong hand of restraint and government as quite essential for such "a wild rough race—half devil and half man." On the other hand, the higher classes, and the nobles, and especially the Electoral house of Saxony, not only listened to the Word of God, but studied, and in many cases desired to act upon it. Luther, therefore, dismissed all vexatious and unsatisfactory questions as to the right of patronage and the power of the Christian congregation; and finding the ablest and best-disposed supports of the Reformation in the higher ranks, modelled his ecclesiastical establishment according to the guidance of surrounding circumstances, and placed it in alliance with, and in some measure in subordination to, the State. In his judgment, the Church, viewed as a human institution, the creation of the law, was simply a standing instrument

for the diffusion of true scriptural doctrine; and therefore that 1528.
Church establishment which answered this object the most effectually, whatever its ideal imperfections, must really be the best. And his wisdom was conspicuously shown in the comparative results of the Hessian and Saxon Church organizations. In Hesse the most sweeping and radical changes had taken place. So far as endowments might be concerned, there was considerable advantage in this; for the foundation of the University of Marburg—one of the first names entered at which was that of John Knox, the Scottish Reformer—as well as of four large hospitals and two seminaries for the education of female children of noble birth, was the happy result of the decree of the Homberg synod. But the democratic basis on which ecclesiastical institutions were built in Hesse, was found by experience so unsuited to the soil and the times, that within four years from its establishment the democratic church system was pulled down to make way for the Saxon edifice as modelled by Luther.

The visitation demonstrated how completely the profession of Lutheran doctrine had superseded Popery amongst all orders and degrees in the dominions of the Saxon Elector. To take the instance of the Altenberg district, which Seckendorf has particularised:—Out of one hundred parishes only four of the clergy were found to continue the celebration of the mass, as many as twenty retained the concubines allowed them by the Pope, whom they were now compelled to marry, or to put away, and only one of the nobles adhered to Popery. But beyond this the results of the inquiry were less satisfactory: for too generally the Lutheranism which had been substituted for Romanism, was no more than profession; and, as such a fact would show, there was a great need of efficient pastors. "We find everywhere," said Luther, "poverty and penury. The Lord send labourers into his vineyard! Amen." "The

1528. face of the Church is everywhere most wretched," he wrote to Spalatin; "sometimes we have a collection for the poor pastors, who have to till their two acres, which helps them a little. The peasants have nothing, and know nothing; they neither pray, confess, nor communicate, as if they were exempted from every religious duty. What an administration that of the Papistical bishops!" In about six weeks Luther despatched his visitation duties in Electoral Saxony, and returned home. He could not at once proceed with the visitation of Misnia, but was obliged to accomplish it, by deputy, in the May and June of the following year.

A new epoch in the annals of the Reformation commences from this period. The investigation, which had been most industriously prosecuted, made a disclosure of the moral and spiritual nakedness of the land, and evidenced how bare the Romish system had left the poorer sort of all culture, whether of mind or soul. And this knowledge was of the utmost consequence, as a preliminary step to improvement. The map of spiritual destitution accurately delineated, showed where money, or schools, or pastors were required. And so gross was the ignorance thus brought to light that Luther, immediately on his return home, set to work to prepare his well-known Catechisms.* But it was not in Saxony only that the opportunity was seized, to give a standing form and outward organization to doctrinal truth. On all sides was seen the spectacle of a revived Christian Church, which, throwing traditional forms and hierarchal precedents back to the dust

* His Small Catechism comprised simple and brief explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments, with Forms of Prayer for night and morning, and Grace before and after meals, and a "House-table" (Haustafel) or collection of Scriptural texts for the ordering of life in its different states and relations: his Large Catechism treated the same subjects more thoroughly: and both appeared early in the ensuing year.

whence they had sprung, modelled itself immediately on the 1528.
scriptural standard, and looked for its past only to primitive antiquity. Christianity refined from its dregs, or rather a new life bursting into vigour from a mass of decomposition, now found its representation in a regularly ordered Church establishment. And thus the contest was no longer that of principles unembodied in any visible form against an established and powerful system, but that of a vigorous institution, young, but really more primitive than its antagonist, taking for its rock the only Word of God, and for its head Jesus Christ, in alliance with civil power and under shelter of the law, against an effete hierarchal body corporate, bending to the ground from the weight of its crimes, in which the human element had almost quite effaced the Divine. And as before the Reformation of Luther had stimulated the Romanists to the mock Ratisbon Reformation, and Luther's German version of the New Testament had been copied or distorted by Emser, so Luther's zeal in the Evangelical Church economy produced its Romish counterpart, and a visitation was instituted in Bavaria and in most of the Romanist States.

In other respects the year 1528 added strength to the evangelical cause. Hamburg, and Brunswick, and Goslar, were henceforth ranked amongst the Lutheran cities. And two conversions in high life attested how deeply society was penetrated by the scriptural doctrine. The Duchess of Münsterberg, by the study of Luther's writings, conceived a disrelish to the conventual life, and effected her escape from a convent at Friburg, in the month of October, and with two of her companions, took refuge under Luther's roof. She was first cousin to Duke George. Earlier in the year (in March), Elizabeth, the sister of the expelled King of Denmark, and wife of Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, was convicted by her husband of studying Luther's works, and of receiving the

1528. Lord's Supper in both kinds, and so hardly dealt with by him as to be confined to her own apartment, and threatened with imprisonment unless she relinquished the new religion. In order to exercise her faith in peace, she secretly fled from Berlin in a waggon used by the country people, and when the wheel broke in a difficult road, she took off her head-dress and threw it to the driver, to bind the wheel together. She was met on the Saxon boundary by Christian II., her brother, to whom the Elector, his uncle, had graciously allotted an asylum at Torgau, and she was herself granted permission to reside in the Castle of Lichtenberg. In her absence from her husband and home she found a chief solace in Luther's instruction; and at one period spent three months in the Augustine convent, to enjoy the benefit of his spiritual guidance, until in 1546 she returned to Berlin.

1529. Towards the end of January, Luther was again very ill and suffering from a strange giddiness in the head, which rendered him unfit for his usual studies and exertions. "I know not," he said, "whether it proceeds from over-fatigue, or is a temptation from Satan." It lasted up to the middle of February, for up to the 13th of that month, when he enclosed the German Litany to Hausmann, he complained that he was "still labouring under giddiness of the head, besides buffetings from the angel of Satan." The end of February he was left almost alone at Wittenberg, and the giddiness had been succeeded by a severe cough, which at last compelled him, from extreme hoarseness, to discontinue both lecturing and preaching; and the only friend whom he had with him to substitute in these duties was Caspar Cruciger, who had returned in 1527 from Magdeburg. In his letters of this period he speaks of himself as "a sinner exposed to many devils in much infirmity," and complains bitterly that "the voice of Theology is no longer heard from the chair." Melancthon

was gone to the Diet with the Elector; Jonas was deputed in 1529.
Luther's stead to carry on the visitation; and Bugenhagen had passed from Hamburg into Holstein. Deprived for a while of the society in which he delighted, and incapacitated for his customary duties, Luther was resolved that the time should not be altogether lost to himself or the world; and he translated in this interval of sickness the Book of Wisdom. It was subjected to Melancthon's emendations on his return, and then printed. A misfortune had befallen the finished treatise against the Turk. In the hurry of preparation for the visitation tour, or in Luther's absence on that mission, several of the sheets had been mislaid, and could not be discovered by the most anxious search. The whole conception of the work was so much marred by this deficiency, that Luther prepared another treatise, which was published in the course of the spring. At length, on the 3rd May, the hoarseness was so far removed that he was able to resume his lectures on Isaiah, and shortly afterwards again to occupy the pulpit. A bright ray of joy was granted him on the 4th, by the birth of a daughter, whom he named Magdalene—a gift in lieu of the one recalled; and it enhanced his delight that Kate was "as well and happy as if she had suffered nothing. To Christ be praise and glory."

During this period of sickness and solitude, the same two subjects as before continued to harass his mind: the Turks and the Diet. And it excited his undisguised astonishment that the King of France, the Pope, the Venetians, and Florentines should be abettors of the arms of the False Prophet. "You may see from this," he wrote to Jonas, "what the world thinks of God. The Turk will be a Reformer, I fear, sent in divine wrath." But all that was passing on the theatre of politics, as well as signs on the earth and in the sky, earthquakes

1529. and meteors, confirmed him in the persuasion that the end of all things was rapidly approaching. "The day of Christ is at the door; it cannot be postponed; the cry will soon resound, 'The Bridegroom cometh.'" In reference to the Diet, there were not wanting alarming tokens of the disposition of many of the Princes; and it could not be concealed that the Pack mystery had exerted an influence highly prejudicial to the cause of the Reformation. Notwithstanding the progress which the Turkish arms were making, King Ferdinand was resolved to be present at Spires, fresh from his proscriptions of the Lutherans in Hungary and Bohemia. The Elector of Brandenburg, too, had lately signalized his zeal by decoying some of the evangelical preachers into a trap which he had laid for them, and making them his prisoners. And it was boastfully rumoured by the popish faction that John of Saxony had not only been interdicted from entering the city of Spires, but had even been deprived of his electoral dignity. The second Diet of Spires, which had been summoned to meet in February, did not enter upon its deliberations until the 15th March. The very manner in which the papistical Princes made their public entrance into the city marked their confidence in the success of their policy, and the pride which elated them. On the 5th, King Ferdinand entered the city with 300 armed knights; the Dukes of Bavaria came attended by an equally large retinue; and the Electors of Mentz and Treves were both accompanied by troops of horsemen. But on the 13th (the eve of Palm Sunday) the Elector of Saxony appeared in the streets of Spires, quietly riding with Melancthon at his side. The Landgrave of Hesse, however, would have put too much force on his nature, had he followed this example; and on the 18th he made his entry at the head of 200 horsemen. The Diet was opened by a speech from the Elector Palatine, as lieutenant of the empire, after which

a letter from the Emperor, dated August 1st, from Valladolid, 1529.
was read aloud in profound silence. It abolished altogether the Recess of the previous Diet of Spires, and imputed the alarming progress of the Turks to the growth of the Lutheran heresy. The bitter tone of the Imperial mandate prepared the minds of most of the members for a decision adverse to the Reformation, and immediately determined the courtiers as to the side which they should take in the subsequent debates. And the strong current of feeling, among the aspirants to favour with the King, was quickly shown by the timid and time-serving Elector Palatine prohibiting his followers from attending the evangelical worship in the hotels of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave. "The Elector Palatine," said the Count of Mansfeld, "will not know a Saxon." "We are the off-scouring of all things," Melancthon wrote to Camerarius. And John Faber and the Romanist preachers proclaimed from the pulpits that the Turks were better than the Lutherans; for the Turks observed fast-days, but the Lutherans despised them. But popular opinion was as staunch as ever in favour of the Reformation; and on Palm Sunday, whilst the Romanist Princes were playing at dice, or drinking, no less than 8000 persons assembled twice in the day, in the Elector of Saxony's lodging, to worship God and to hear his word. It was at once proposed to the Diet, in obedience to the Imperial mandate, to abolish the Edict of 1526. The Elector of Saxony and his friends stoutly resisted such a proposition; but their objections were overruled by the votes of the majority. There was no time for lengthened discussion; the Turks were in possession of the greater part of Hungary, and their continued progress warned Ferdinand of the imperative necessity of his presence in the field of battle. Early in April, therefore, the terms of the Recess were arranged.

1529. They ordained, that wherever the Edict of Worms had hitherto been obeyed, it should still be obeyed; and wherever innovations in religion had taken place, and the old ritual could not be restored without disturbances, such innovations might be retained till the meeting of a general or national council; but no further innovations must be made. The Sacramentarians were to be punished with banishment, the Anabaptists with death. The sacrament of the mass was to be solemnized without let or hinderance; the Gospel was to be explained according to the interpretations of Fathers received by the Church; the public peace was not to be violated, and no one was to molest another or interfere with his subjects on the ground of religion.

Such an edict, if it were allowed, not only reduced the Reformation to a stand-still, but virtually re-established Romanism. The Evangelicals were fully aware of this, and were determined, if possible, to prevent the proposition from passing into law; but at least, if it should pass into law, never to accord their consent to it. The Saxon envoy Minkwitz, on the 12th April, ably argued the cause of the Lutherans, contending that, in cases of conscience, the force of a majority was null, and the minority would never consent to the sentence of their own condemnation. But his representations were of no effect. The Elector desired Luther's opinion on the prominent question of the power of a majority, and this was given, in opposition to any acknowledgment of such a power being vested in a majority of the Diet as was now claimed; and he insisted on the contempt into which the Clergy had everywhere sunk, the total downfall which threatened the empire, and the destruction of all religion which must have ensued, if the revival of Scriptural doctrine had not renewed the Church and regenerated the nation by teaching faith in Christ, and obedience to the magistrate.

"If the old state of things had been suffered to reach its 1529.
natural termination, the world must have fallen to pieces, and Christianity have been turned into Atheism." But it was of no use to urge unimpeachable truths to a confident and triumphant majority. On the 19th April, King Ferdinand thanked his coadjutors for "their faithful and assiduous services," and, repudiating the arguments of the Evangelicals, insisted that the will of the greater part of the Electors and Princes, according to ancient usage, must be deemed conclusive. The Lutherans requested a brief delay, but Ferdinand replied that the commands of the Emperor were explicit, and he abruptly left the house with the commissioners.

The behaviour of Ferdinand was judged by the Lutheran party a contempt of their dignity and persons—an insult added to an injury; and, on constitutional as well as on religious grounds, they felt the necessity of making a firm stand. If it were conceded that the majority of the Diet had the power of directing the internal affairs of each separate principality, as was now demanded, it was clear that a new order of things had commenced in Germany; a collective central authority had usurped the rights of every local administration, and in that usurping court the weightiest affairs were henceforth to be regulated by counting hands. But the emergency which had now arisen had been foreseen, and was provided for. The Evangelical Princes returned to the chamber where the States remained sitting, and caused a protest which they had previously prepared to be read aloud in their name, and requested that it might be incorporated in the Recess. The protest, with a few additions, was delivered to the King the following day, but Ferdinand refused to accept it, and sent it back to them. The Diet, however, with more courtesy and better sense, made an attempt at reconcilia-

1529. tion,* and deputed Henry of Brunswick and Philip of Baden to act as mediators. But the attempt failed; for the Bishops, who had now gained what they wanted, and King Ferdinand, who was much irritated at what had occurred, were indisposed to accede to any arrangement short of the decision arrived at by the majority. The majority of votes in their favour was an argument with them that answered every objection. Thus the Evangelical Princes were driven to the publication of their protest as the only alternative that remained: as King Ferdinand refused to have it inserted in the Recess, they in their turn declined to comply with his unreasonable request that they would refrain from publishing it altogether. And by circulating such a document, they in fact appealed from one majority to another, from that of the Diet to that of the German people.

On Sunday, April 25, the first Protestants met in the house of Peter Muterstadt, the Deacon, near St. John's Church, in St. John's Lane, in the little room on the ground-floor, with their notaries, the Chancellors of the Princes and States, to give the instrument of Appeal the form and force of a legal document. Immediately afterwards it was made public. The Appeal was to the Emperor, to a free Christian or National Council, or to whatsoever competent judge, in behalf of themselves and their subjects, and all who now or hereafter should adhere to the holy Word of God. In this Appeal they stated that they were only doing what they owed to their conscience and to God, and intended no injury or contempt to

* Melancthon wrote to Camerarius (Bret. II., p. 1060)—"Our adversaries are now courting us to remain: they say they will moderate the bitterness of the edict. I know not what will come of it all." He blamed the Lutherans for not being more accommodating in the matter of the tax for the Turkish war; and dedicated his exposition of Daniel to King Ferdinand, using every effort to pacify him.

any one. It was lawful for any one to appeal for another 1529.
who had been condemned to death; how much more, then, must this be lawful for themselves—the members of the one spiritual body of Jesus Christ, and sons of one heavenly Father, in behalf of themselves and their neighbours, in a cause affecting everlasting salvation or condemnation. In such a cause majority of votes had no place. By the decrees of the Diets of Nuremberg, a Council had been unanimously demanded, and before it should meet they could not be required to recede from the convictions of their conscience. They had never consented to the Edict of Worms, and never could consent to it; much less would they restore in their territories the mass, refuted by their preachers from the Word of God, for neither did the adverse party allow the holy communion in both kinds in their dominions. The Edict of Worms had been abrogated or suspended by the decree of the Diet of 1526. They were much aggrieved by the charge of innovation, which could not rightly apply to those who conformed to Scripture, and it was not to be endured that no one henceforth should be permitted to embrace the evangelical doctrine. The Word of God was not by them interpreted according to the Doctors of the Church, for it was a question what was meant by the Church: but Scripture was explained by Scripture. This Appeal was signed by John Elector of Saxony, George Margrave of Brandenberg, Ernest and Francis Dukes of Luneberg, Philip Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, and by fourteen imperial cities—Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall, Wissenburg, and Windsheim. The Protestants included in their number all the cities who upheld Zwinglian doctrine. They stood pledged to mutual defence in resisting any attempt at compulsion on the part of

1529. the majority, in things appertaining to faith; but at the same time expressed the hope that no such interference would be tried. "Protestant," says Pallavicini, "signifies traitor to the Pope or to the Emperor." It may more truly be said that it denotes one who takes Scripture, and Scripture only, as the one guide in faith and conduct and, in heartfelt submission to that Divine rule, discards all human traditions and human authority that conflict with it. "It is a No, which is the rebound of a Yes"—that Yes the Yea and Amen of God himself. Negative in form, it is in substance as positive a term as any to be found in language.

Before the Appeal was published, indeed the day after the attempts at mediation proved fruitless, a secret agreement had been concluded by Saxony and Hesse with the cities of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg. The agreement was to the effect that they would defend themselves, and one another, if any attack on religious grounds should be made upon any of them, whoever the aggressor might be, whether the Suabian League or the Emperor himself, and delegates were to be sent by them in June to Rothach in Franconia, to mature the plans of this warlike alliance. After the Appeal had received its legal form, and had been published, the thoughts of the Protestants, as was natural, were more powerfully directed to the importance of a defensive alliance; and the scheme was communicated to the Theologians. It was then for the first time distinctly felt, what an obstacle the difference of religious principles between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, which in the imminent jeopardy to the Word of God, had been for the moment quite overlooked, must interpose against any general Protestant alliance of this kind: and Melancthon, now awake to what he had before little thought of, began severely to reproach himself for having made joint cause with the Sacramentarians, and to consider the unfavour-

able issue of the national councils as a retributive punish- 1529.
ment. But he did not offer any opposition to the proposed alliance whilst at Spires. It was determined that an Embassy should be sent to the Emperor, and with this view a meeting was to be held at Nuremberg. The alliance was to be arranged at Rothach. Thus the Protestants parted; and, on the 6th May, Melancthon reached Wittenberg again.* The Appeal was published by the Landgrave on the 5th, by the Elector of Saxony on the 13th May, in their respective dominions.

The prospect which now opened before the mind's eye of a military prince like the Landgrave of Hesse, can be denominated scarcely by a less word than magnificent. He had before been too eager to grasp the sword; it now seemed forced into his hand. And allies from all quarters were ready to start up and unite in the contest against the Papistical faction which had prevailed in the Diet. Philip had dived deeply into the recesses of diplomatic negotiations, and had alike sounded the intentions of courts and of town-councils. He was, like his friend the exiled Duke of Wurtemburg, and the Marquis of Baden, on intimate terms with the Swiss Protestants and the great Reformer, Zwingle. It

* They heard with joy at Wittenberg of the preservation of Simon Grynæus. He had come to Spires to see Melancthon, and had implored John Faber of Constance to cease persecuting the Gospel. A man of venerable appearance stood at the door of the priest's house with whom Melancthon lodged, and inquired for Grynæus. He was not within. "I am come," the messenger said, "to warn him to fly this place: his foes have laid snares for him." When Grynæus returned, Melancthon persuaded him to immediate flight, and accompanied him to the Rhine. Soon afterwards a band of soldiers appeared before the priest's house to apprehend Grynæus.—Camerar., p. 113. Melancthon wrote to Camerarius that he regarded the interposition as miraculous. "Omnino est ille divino auxilio ereptus quasi e faucibus eorum, qui sitiunt sanguinem innocentum."—Bret. II., p. 1062.

1529. is singular to observe the different language in which Luther and Zwingle spoke of the Landgrave: with the Saxon he was "a young and hot-headed prince;" with the Swiss Reformer he was "magnanimous, steadfast, and wise." But Zurich was in negotiation not only with Philip, but with the King of France; and it could not be a matter of doubt with what avidity the impetuous Francis would seize the opportunity of stirring up strife against his rival the Emperor in Germany itself, and therefore how welcome to him a bond with a congenial spirit such as the Landgrave could not fail to be. Venice, and some also of the German cities, would easily be drawn into the anti-imperial alliance. Then there were the kings of Denmark and of Sweden, and Albert of Prussia, all sworn Lutherans. King Ferdinand had enough to do already in opposing Sultan Soliman. With such a powerful coalition arrayed against them on every side, the Papistical German princes might be undoubtedly reduced to the most compliant submission, and be made to pay dearly for their haughty carriage and intolerant decisions at the recent Diet. A far less sanguine character than Philip the Magnanimous might easily have been entranced with such a prospect as now presented itself; and it cannot excite astonishment that he subsequently toiled with all his energies to reconcile the divergencies of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches.

With far other feelings, dejected and desponding, Melancthon returned to Wittenberg. His conscience upbraided him with having been an accomplice in an unholy league with those who had divested the Eucharist of its awful mystery, and who held many other unscriptural dogmas. He was half dead with the sense of his error; his studies and the claims of private friendship were neglected, and death seemed preferable to the tortures of self-recrimination. His despondency was soon afterwards deepened by a domestic afflic-

tion, the death of his younger son George. It may readily 1529.
be conjectured what Luther thought of an alliance with the Swiss, and with what condoling sympathy he welcomed the repentance, or rather the self-recollection, of Melancthon. Of the importance of the protest he had no conception: he only recognised in the account of what had passed at the Diet, that "the spiritual tyrants and buffeters of the Saviour" had been withheld by a Divine hand from satiating their fury against the Gospel. And he was now resolved to warn the Elector of the guilt of concluding the proposed alliance with heretics, chargeable with setting aside the plain words of Scripture, and trampling under foot the Sacrament of the altar. But this was not all. He had allowed the right of an Elector of the Empire to form a defensive alliance against a brother elector or potentate, only ranking on the same level with himself; but it was a very different thing for a subordinate prince to engage in a compact even for self-defence against the imperial authority itself. Loyalty was with him a plain Christian duty. Obedience to the powers that be, under whatever circumstances, he regarded as enjoined in every page of the Scriptures. But from his correspondence it seems probable that the antipathy to the Sacramentarian error was even yet stronger in his mind than his conviction of the doctrine of passive obedience.

"Master Philip," Luther wrote to the Elector, on the 22nd May, "has brought me intelligence from the Diet which has moved me not a little, that a new league is in hand between your Grace, and the Landgrave, and several States. It is only a year ago that God in his wonderful mercy delivered us from the perils of a terrible plot. As I hope that God will henceforth watch over and give your Grace spirit and counsel to abstain for the time to come from such like compacts, so I cannot satisfy the appeals and

1529. violence of my conscience, without approving to your Grace, with what knowledge and experience I have, that no one can be too industrious in anticipating the devil and his temptations. Christ our Lord will grant our prayer that your Grace may beware, and however the Landgrave may advance in his league-making, avoid all partnership and connexion with such designs. For the folly that will proceed therefrom, we cannot think of it all. In the first place, such leaguing does not proceed from God, nor from confidence in God, but from human wisdom, and from seeking human help wherein to trust, which has no sure ground, and never yields good fruit. Secondly, it is awful to reflect, that in such a league we comprise those who strive against God and the Sacrament, whereby we bring all their iniquity and profaneness upon our own heads, and make ourselves partakers in their guilt. Rather than this, so help us God, your Grace had far better abandon the Landgrave, as I hear the Margrave George has declared and done. For our Lord Christ, who has hitherto wonderfully helped us without the Landgrave, yea, against the Landgrave, can help and counsel us still. Thirdly, in the Old Testament God has ever condemned such a leaguing of human help: as in Isaiah, vii., viii., and xxx.; and he proclaims, 'Your strength is to sit still.' We must be the children of faith in God, in sure confidence in Him. 'Cast all your care upon him. Who art thou that thou shouldest be afraid of a man that shall die?'"

Afterwards he forwarded a paper of considerations to the Elector, in which he answered the arguments of those who upheld the league, and stoutly maintained that to deny any single Christian doctrine is to deny the Christian faith altogether. "The whole virtue of a compact consists," he said, "in faith and a good conscience: but how can there be such a groundwork in conjunction with those who hold unworthy

views of the Sacrament?" He recommended that in sending 1529.
an embassy to the Emperor the Evangelicals should act quite distinctly from the Sacramentarians. He wished the merits of the Elector towards the Church to be dwelt upon at length in the representations of the ambassadors, particularly that he had caused Jesus Christ, and faith in Him, to be taught most purely, and as they had not been taught for 1000 years; had abolished mass-marketings, indulgence-traffickings, excommunications, and a host of evils condemned by the Diet of Worms; had resisted the violation of churches and images; had opposed Munzer, and preserved the public peace; and had done his utmost to suppress the heresies of the Sacramentarians, and of the Anabaptists, as well as the vile doctrines of Erasmus and others on the Holy Trinity. For the time, however, another influence was in the ascendant: Luther's admonitions were disregarded, and on the 27th May a meeting was held at Nuremberg, at which it was resolved to send three ambassadors to Charles, in the combined cause of Lutherans and Zwinglians; and their instructions were not exactly in the submissive tone advised by Luther, but dwelt, as the protest had done, on past decrees of Diets, and the constitutional maxims of the empire, which Charles had infringed in abolishing the decree of 1526, and petitioned earnestly for the promised Council. But it was not long that the Elector John trod in the worldly footprints of the Landgrave: Luther's scriptural exhortations after a little while again prevailed; and the career of the Reformation at a critical period was once more determined, and probably recalled from imminent ruin, by the firmness with which he resisted every argument of expediency, and acted on simple faith in God.

The meeting took place, as had been agreed, at Rothach on the 1st June, but the result proved how much the arguments

1529. of Luther had weighed upon the Elector's conscience in the interval. John directed his delegate Minkwitz to hear all that was said, but to be no party to any definitive agreement; and thus the meeting broke up with no fruit beyond the repetition of formal expressions of sympathy and vague assurances of support. This was anything but satisfactory to the Landgrave. Various letters passed between him and the Elector, and Philip strove to persuade John that the point of the Lord's Supper was not an essential article of religion, like faith and some other doctrines; and that "theologians would for ever be disputing." But as time advanced, the influence of Luther's sentiments on the Elector's judgment continued to be on the increase. There was a meeting at Zerbst on the 7th August, at which deputies of most of the Protestant princes were present, but again no arrangement could be agreed upon. The Elector of Saxony, George, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg, were especially firm and decided in adhering to Luther's sacramental doctrines and his pacific policy: and the two former afterwards entered into a mutual stipulation that they would never assent to forming a compact with such as differed from the evangelical tenets on the subject of the Lord's Supper and Holy Baptism. But it had been settled that a general Protestant conference should take place in the middle of October, at Schwaback, and the Landgrave did not remit anything of his usual ardour in labouring so to settle doctrinal diversities, that before that congress the path to a defensive combination might be made smooth.

The plan conceived by Philip was that the rival theologians, who he found, from the recesses of their modest dwellings ruled the counsels of princes, and with the pen determined the action of the sword, should hold a meeting under his protection and in his presence: and he trusted that by

calmly talking over the arguments in support of their adverse views the differences might be adjusted, or at least all ill-feeling quieted. Indeed, this plan had occurred to his mind before the Diet broke up, and he mentioned it to Melancthon. Luther did not refuse to accede to this proposal, but from the very first he, and Melancthon with him, so wrote and acted as to show that they expected little or no good from any disputation or conference with adversaries who had published such bitter writings in maintenance of their heretical opinions. On the 23rd June he replied to the Landgrave's invitation that he would go to Marburg, and give the meeting to Œcolampadius and his partisans, for his opponents should never be able to say that they loved peace and unity better than he did: but he had no hope whatever from argument; he had well studied his own ground, so had his opponents theirs: he feared Satan might find his own advantage in the disputation: he certainly should not himself yield, and if his opponents proved as obstinate, the Landgrave's expense and trouble would all be lost, although his diligence to heal divisions was highly praiseworthy. But if, as his Grace hinted, disunion should be followed by shedding of blood, which the depraved heart naturally thirsted for, he and his would be guiltless of any such result. What shedding of blood led to had been witnessed in the instances of Sickingen, Carlstadt, and Munzer: from all whose enterprises he had kept himself clear, and from all similar enterprises he would ever keep himself clear, with the help of God. 1529.

In a paper of considerations of about the same date—the composition either of Luther or Melancthon*—it was pro-

* It has no signature attached. De Wette (III. p. 475) ascribes it to Luther; Bretschneider (II. p. 1066) to Melancthon. It was first published by Müller, in his "History of the Augsburg Confession," from the Weimar Archives.

1529. posed that some honest Papists should attend the disputation as a third and impartial party, both to preclude the possibility of any rumour that the Reforming party were hatching some conspiracy, and to serve as a check on the proneness of the Sacramentarians to palm off on the public a false and interested statement of the arguments adduced. Such a proposal is itself a sufficient proof of the extreme reluctance with which the Wittenberg divines yielded to the importunity of the Landgrave. Even the gentle Melancthon reiterates, in his correspondence, that he had "rather die" than be contaminated by alliance with the Swiss: "they separated the divinity of Christ from his manhood: they spoke of sin as only in the outward act, like the Pelagians and Papists; and they made faith a mere historical belief." Zwingle was personally odious to the Lutheran chiefs; he is described by them as "rude, violent, and insolent;" and it was thought that the success of his doctrines in the famous conference at Bern, when it was decided to abrogate the mass, and from which he had been brought home in triumph by his countrymen, the boys shouting in the streets, "Down with a God of bread—a baker God," had contributed to inflame his native pride and roughness. Luther repeated in a stronger tone all that he had ever said against disputations; he spoke of the Leipsic disputation as having produced more evil than good: he referred to the disputations in past ages of the Arians and orthodox as having never been attended with any benefit: and he complained of the unruly spirit of the Landgrave, and the bad designs he was harbouring. "I know well what Satan is about in this business: God grant I prove not a true prophet." He even requested of his friends that prayers might be offered in the churches for public peace, for "Satan was meditating a great bane to Germany, and an intolerable scandal to the Gospel, by tempting the Reforming party to take up arms."

It was the Elector's care that the great Doctor should 1529.
appear at the conference apparelled in a manner worthy of his patron, and he therefore sent him a present of a handsome suit of clothes, and cloth for a gown. In a noble letter Luther returned his thanks. "His Grace must not believe those who said that he was in want. He had received more from his Grace than in his conscience he could well bear; for as a preacher he ought not, and fain would not have a superfluity. He would not willingly be found amongst those in this life to whom Christ says, 'Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation.' Besides, he would not be burdensome to his Grace, as knowing what demands he had on his charity, and how much he required to keep up his state: and 'too much bursts the bag.' Although it would not beseem him to wear the liver-coloured cloth, yet he would wear the black coat out of honour to his Grace, though far too costly; and were it not his Grace's present, he never could wear such a coat at all. His Grace must wait until he entreated a gift, that he might not be shy to intercede for others far worthier than himself."

The conference was fixed for St. Michael's Day. Luther, accompanied by Melancthon, Cruciger, and Jonas, left Wittenberg the 23rd October, and took the road by Erfurth, Gotha, and Eisenach; but as soon as he reached the frontiers of Hesse, he refused to proceed any farther until a safe-conduct from the Landgrave had been sent him. When this had been received, he advanced to Alsfeld, and rested there for the night, and on Thursday, the 30th September, before mid-day, made his entrance into Marburg. The Swiss had arrived the day previously; and very different were the feelings with which they had undertaken the journey, and prepared to engage in the discussion. Zwingle, apprehensive of impediments and delays, and urged by a fourth messenger from that "most

1529. pious hero and Christian prince the Landgrave," quitted Zurich secretly the beginning of September, leaving a letter to be delivered to the Small and Great Council, explaining his departure, and telling his wife that he was going to Basle on business: on the 5th he was at Basle, in Œcolampadius' house; and on the 6th the two theologians, with Rudolph Fry, senator of Basle, and Ulric Funk, senator of Zurich, descended the Rhine in company with some merchants, and in thirteen hours reached Strasburg, where they remained some days, and towards the end of the month, with Hedio and Bucer, and a Strasburg senator of note, James Sturm, under an escort of soldiers or horsemen accomplished their route to Marburg. The Lutheran party, besides Eberhard, the prefect of Eisenach, and some others who had joined them at that town, were increased by the subsequent arrival, after the controversy had commenced, of Osiander of Nuremberg, Brentz of Halle, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg. It had at first been intended to assign the disputants of the two contending sides lodgings in the town: but this scheme was abandoned; and they were all most courteously received by the Landgrave in his castle, an ancient fortress standing on the brow of a hill, surrounded with woods, and commanding a noble view of the valley of the Lahn. The theologians sat at the same table with the prince, and were entertained with royal magnificence. On the 30th, Luther conversed familiarly for some time with Œcolampadius in the castle yard; but when Bucer drew near to him, he exclaimed, shaking his hand at him, "You are a good-for-nothing knave."

The next day, Friday, October 1, it was arranged that there should be a separate conference in private, two by two, of the heads of the opponent sentiments—Luther apart with Œcolampadius, and Melancthon with Zwingle—the im-

petuous matched against the gentle. After divine service the 1529.
pairs of disputants withdrew into the apartments allotted them, and carried on the discussion until they were interrupted by the summons to dinner. Zwingle complains that Melancthon was "so slippery, and such a Proteus, that he was obliged to take a pen and conduct the controversy on paper, in order to fix him." But this preliminary interview proved that on all subjects, save the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the disputants were agreed. The Swiss allowed the radical and total depravity of the heart; that the Sacraments are channels for communicating grace; that by baptism, the infant has original sin forgiven him; that the Holy Spirit acts not independently of, but through the written word; and that justification is to be distinguished from those good works which are its fruits and effects. After dinner Melancthon and Zwingle resumed their discussion for three hours longer, and and entered more fully on the debated point of the Lord's Supper; but Luther did not return to his conference with Œcolampadius. The theologian of Basle had whispered into Zwingle's ear, on joining him to proceed to the dinner table, that "he had a second time lighted on Eck." Luther only mentions in his correspondence the mutual suavity of manner observed in the interview.

The following day, Saturday, October 2, the more public conference was to take place. An apartment in the interior of the castle, near the Prince's bedchamber, had been chosen for the discussion, for much care was used to prevent the intrusion of the idly curious or ill-disposed. Carlstadt had requested permission to be present, but Luther at once negatived such a proposition; and many who had come from Switzerland or the Rhine, full of anxiety to be witnesses of the controversy, knocked in vain at the castle gate, and implored to be let in. Early in the morning the Landgrave entered the hall and

1529. took his seat, with his courtiers, and counsellors of the first mark, professors of his university, and the nobles and deputies who had been granted admission; about twenty-four spectators in all, according to the Zwinglian account, as many as fifty or sixty according to the Lutheran. The Prince was very plainly attired, and thus appeared eager to ignore his rank on the occasion, and to do homage to theology. Of an intelligent mind, and well versed in the Scriptures, he listened with fixed attention to the arguments advanced by either side. A desk, covered with a velvet cloth, divided Luther and Melancthon from Zwingle and Œcolampadius, and the other theologians were seated behind the chiefs of their respective parties. But, before the controversy began, Luther stepped forward, and with a piece of chalk wrote on the velvet cloth, in large letters in Latin, the text of Scripture on which he depended—"This is my body." It was a token that, as long as that text was found in Scripture, he would not abandon the doctrine of the corporeal presence.

The conference was opened by Feige, the Chancellor of Hesse, admonishing the disputants of the object for which they were met, viz. the establishment of concord. Upon this Luther declared, that he must protest against the opinions entertained by his opponents on the Lord's Supper, and ever should protest against them, for the words of Christ were simple and conclusive, "This is my body." Œcolampadius replied, that the words of Christ thus quoted were figurative, and to be explained by similar texts, such as, I am the true vine, I am the door of the sheep, John is Elias, &c. Luther acknowledged a figure in the passages adduced, for the simplest understanding must at once perceive them to be figurative; but he denied that there was anything parallel to them in the declaration, "This is my body." Œcolampadius then had recourse to Christ's own statement of the

manner in which eating his flesh and drinking his blood 1529.
were to be understood, as contained in John vi., where, in answer to the inquiry, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" he says, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Luther insisted that that passage of Scripture did not refer to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but to feeding on Christ spiritually: but even if it did refer to the Sacrament, by Christ's words in that place must be understood not *his* flesh, but *our* flesh; in other words, that the body of Christ is to be received not with a carnal but with a spiritual heart. For what blasphemy to dare to say, "The flesh of Christ profiteth nothing!" Christ himself saith, "His flesh bringeth life." Œcolampadius continued to press him on this point,—"But if there be the spiritual manducation, what can the oral avail?" "That," said Luther, "is a mere rationalistic question; it ought to be enough that the word of God says so; what that word states we are bound to believe without a doubt, or a cavil, or objection. The world must obey God's precepts; we must all kiss his word. Worms, listen! It is your God who speaks!" Here Zwingle came to the aid of his friend; and the controversy quickly assumed a sharper and more excited tone. "The devil," Luther repeated, "shall not drive me from simple dependence on Christ's words, 'This is my body.' "You keep on singing the same song!" Zwingle exclaimed. This Luther resented as rough and arrogant language; and when Zwingle continued, "Pardon me, my dear sir; the Saviour's explanation of the meaning of his words is decisive: Christ tells you at once"—"Your language," Luther retorted, "savours of the camp and of bloodshed," glancing at the ulterior designs which he supposed to be veiled by the eagerness for unanimity, and yet more obviously alluding to the

1529. preparations for battle which had been made by Zurich and Bern against the Forest Cantons in the summer, and all but brought to the test of actual conflict. It was a relief to the Landgrave, and all who had harmony and concord at heart, that, at this heated turn in the discussion, when the argument had degenerated into personal allusion, the combatants were parted by dinner being announced.

Sunday, Oct. 3. After dinner the discussion was renewed, and the forenoon and afternoon of the next day* were devoted to the controversy, but without any impression being made on either party by the representations of the other. Luther stood throughout on the defensive, repeatedly quoting the text which he regarded as decisive, and the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper as given by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. His adversaries assailed him with other arguments. "You will not allow a metaphor, yet you admit a synecdoche," urged Œcolampadius, "in the words, 'This is my body.'" "There is a great difference," Luther replied, "between metaphor and synecdoche; synecdoche does not involve a sign as metaphor does; but every one understands what is meant by drinking a bottle, that it is the beer in the bottle. The body of Christ is in the bread as the sword in the scabbard, or the Holy Ghost in the dove." "The term sacrament," Œcolampadius continued, "is synonymous with a sign or token, which is as good as an acknowledgment that metaphor *is* employed." Luther answered, that he could not accede to such an inference; "the body and blood of course are signs in one sense; they are signs of our redemption, and of the promises of God, which hang upon them." Zwingle tried another argument. A body, he said, cannot be without

* Lingke states (D. M. L.'s. Reisegeschichte, p. 180), that Luther preached a sermon at Marburg this Sunday, on Christian Justification, or Forgiveness of Sins.

place: the body of Christ is like our own, for he took the 1529
form of a servant; it is now only a glorified body, such as we shall share; and that body is in heaven, for it is written "He ascended into heaven;" it therefore cannot be at the same time in the bread. "I will have nothing," Luther exclaimed, "to do with your mathematics; God is above mathematics; I never stated that the body of Christ is in the bread as in a place." But when it was attempted to lead him to a more precise statement of what his doctrine really was, he drew back in abhorrence. To affect precision in such a case was, in his judgment, the height of irreverence and impiety; and to talk, as Zwingle did, of Christ's body being "finite," was to degrade the Godhead to the level of our ignorant understandings, and to separate the two indivisible natures of Christ. "The whole Christ, God and man, was in the Sacrament." Zwingle proceeded to charge him with bringing back Popery by the doctrine which he held on the Lord's Supper. He replied that he did not in any way recognise the papistical *opus operatum;* but believed the sacrament to be effectual only because of Christ's institution "by the word," like the divine word itself, not losing its virtue by unbelief either in the priest or people, but to the unfaithful "a savour of death unto death," and to the faithful "a savour of life unto life." At last he tore the velvet cloth from the table, and held up before all the assembly the large letters, "This is my body," as an unassailable warrant for persisting in the plain literal interpretation of Scripture against every cavil. It was evident to both parties that the disputation could not be protracted with any advantage; it was therefore closed, after the Swiss had read aloud several quotations from fathers of the church in support of their views, "not to add tradition to the foundation of Scripture," but to vindicate their doctrine from the charge of novelty. And the Evangelicals in reply collected

1529. various passages from the fathers in defence of their sentiments, and gave the document into the hands of the Landgrave. Throughout the sojourn of the theologians in his castle, the Landgrave was assiduously bent on effecting a reconciliation; he had frequent interviews in private with Zwingle; he also sent for each of the disputants, and remained closeted with them for some time, exhorting, urging, and imploring, that, out of regard to the Christian common weal, the scandal of discord should be removed.

What was to be done? All hopes of unanimity had proved abortive. Nor was a long delay possible; for the sweating sickness, which had previously spread its ravages and terrors through other parts of Germany, in a most sickly season, when there was a blight on the corn and vintage crops, so that the wine could neither be drank, nor yet converted into vinegar, had already made its appearance at Marburg. Before departing from Wittenberg, Luther had been mourning over the devil's machinations, that "he struck some with disease, and yet more with panic." Aurogallus, Bruck, and Christian Beyer had all to be roused to more manly resolution, or they would have sweated themselves to death from the sheer force of fancy; and now, at Marburg, on the last day of the disputation, fifteen persons were seized with the English malady, of whom one or two died. A speedy withdrawal to a more healthy locality was absolutely necessary. But injury instead of benefit must result to the Reformation if, by an unfriendly parting, the Protestants witnessed to the whole world that the division in their ranks, which could not be closed, was reciprocally judged of such importance as to make the Saxons and Swiss avowed aliens from one another on religious grounds. Accordingly a general meeting took place. It was now to be decided whether, if there could not be perfect doctrinal union, there might

not be union in essentials, with allowed diversity in other points. Luther held that there might be a difference of opinion among Christians on images, crucifixes, priestly vestments, and such externals of religion; but declared that no article of faith could ever be a matter of indifference. Zwingle, on the other hand, decided that images, the cowl, and externals were by no means indifferent; but Christians might be permitted to entertain dissimilar sentiments on the Lord's Supper. The Swiss were the less powerful side, partly on account of the animosity of most of the nobles and princes to their tenets, and partly because Lutheranism was a faith already recognised by German Diets. Zwingle and Œcolampadius therefore implored that the two divisions of Protestants, disagreeing only on one article of doctrine, should unite in concord, and the Reformed be owned by the Evangelicals as Christian brothers. Philip of Hesse added his voice to theirs in urging this concession; and the Hessian divines, Lambert, Snepf, and others, called upon Luther to renounce every feeling which barred the way against this desirable concord. But Luther, against every entreaty, stood firm. He could not acknowledge those as brothers who thought lightly of the sacrament of the altar, and conceived that to prefer such a request argued a want of confidence in their own opinion, or an inadequate value of truth. Zwingle was so much affected by this coldness, that he could not disguise his emotions, but burst into tears. Luther came forward and said, "We cannot accept you as brothers, but we are willing to hold out to you the hand of charity." With the warm-heartedness of their nature the Swiss rushed forward to clasp the extended hand, and the theologians of the adverse sides, Luther and Zwingle first, and the rest after them, shook hands in token that they regarded one another with gentle and kindly feeling. This was no light point gained. 1529.

1529. It was resolved that henceforth no angry or bitter writings should be exchanged. And the Swiss, like the Saxon monasteries, whose inmates still clung to Romanism, were "commended to God," and "dismissed in peace." "Let us all pray fervently," said Luther, "and by God's grace our friendship will be changed to brotherhood."

But before the theologians separated, it was important that a document should be drawn up to testify to the world the cordiality of feeling which prevailed between the Evangelical and the Reformed branches of the Protestant Church, and their agreement on every point of faith excepting one. The Landgrave started this proposal: and every eye turned to Luther as the fittest person to execute the task. Luther acquiesced in the general wish, and retired to his chamber to prepare the document. He had two dangers to shun: he would not be needlessly severe upon the Swiss; but, above all, he must not infringe on the sacred truths of God's Word. He drew up a record of faith, with a strict regard to accuracy, in fourteen articles, known as the Marburg Articles, and reserved the contested subject of the Lord's Supper for the last.

The Articles declared the entire unanimity of the Protestant belief:—1. On the Trinity. 2. The incarnation of the Son of God. 3. His meritorious death, resurrection, ascension, and second advent. 4. The universality of original sin. 5. Remission of all sin, both original and actual, through the merits of Jesus Christ alone by faith. 6. Faith not earned by works or service, or of our own strength, but the gift of God wrought in the heart by the Spirit. 7. Such faith our justification by the imputation of Christ's merits without any works of ours; and hence all monastic vows to be condemned. 8. Faith ordinarily through the word of God preached or read, how and in whom God will. 9. Baptism not a bare sign or token among Christians; but a sign and work of God, wherein

our faith is required, and whereby we are regenerated. 1529.
10. Faith the parent of good works; viz., charity, prayer and patience under persecution. 11. Confession to, or asking advice of, a pastor not obligatory; but very useful for the sake of absolution and consolation. The only true absolution from the Gospel. 12. Magistracies and worldly laws, judgments and appointments, lawful and Christian ordinances, in opposition to the teaching of some Papists and Anabaptists. 13. Traditions and ordinances of the Church, if not repugnant to God's word, free to be used or rejected; but the prohibition of matrimony "a doctrine of devils." The 14th Article was as follows:—"We all believe and hold, concerning the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it must be administered agreeably to its institution in both kinds; that the mass is not a work whereby one can procure grace for another, dead or living; that the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that the spiritual feeding on the body and blood is peculiarly necessary to every Christian. In like manner we agree as to the use of the sacrament, that, like the word, it has been transmitted and ordained by God, to excite weak consciences to faith and love, through the Holy Ghost. And although we are not at present agreed whether the true body and blood be present *corporeally* in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, yet the one party shall declare to the other their Christian love, as far as each individual conscience shall bear, and both shall diligently beseech Almighty God to establish us by his Spirit in the truth. Amen." When Luther, entering the Hall in which the divines were assembled, offered these Articles for perusal, anxiety was seated on every countenance. They were twice read aloud, and Swiss and Saxons learnt with eager joy how nearly they were agreed even in the judgment of Luther. The signatures were affixed to the

1529. two copies, the Swiss signing one first, the Saxons the other. The Hessian divines and the Landgrave did not append their signatures, in order to maintain the character which they had supported throughout, of impartial witnesses.

On the evening of the 4th October, when the articles had been signed and the document was ready for the press, Luther sat down to write two letters, one to his wife, the other to his friend Gerbel of Strasburg, with a brief account of what had passed at the conference. To his wife he wrote as follows—"Grace and peace in Christ. Dear lord Kate,—Know that our friendly conference at Marburg is at an end, and we are quite one on all points, except that the opponent party will have that it is mere bread in the Sacrament, and Christ is only spiritually present. To-day the Landgrave has been endeavouring that we should be one, or if that could not be, at least should own one another as brethren and members of Christ. He has laboured for this with all his might. But we will not accept them as brethren and members; we wish them well, and hold them as friends. . . Tell Master Bugenhagen, that Zwingle's best argument has been, that a body cannot be without a place; and Œcolampadius', that the Sacrament is a sign of Christ's body. I think God has blinded them, that they have nothing better to bring forward. I have much to do, and the messenger is in haste. Say good night to all, and pray for us. We are all sound and hearty, and live like the princes. Kiss little Lena and Johnny for me. Your willing servant, Martin Luther." The letter to Gerbel stated that "the Swiss had receded from their tenets on many points, and remained obstinate only on the Sacrament of the altar. They had been told that unless they came to their senses on this point also, they might be counted as friends, but could not be deemed brethren and members of Christ. More had been

effected than could have been hoped, for controversy in writing 1529.
and disputing was to cease, and thus not the least part of the scandal would be removed. Would that the Lord Jesus might at length remove the only remaining scruple."

Early in the morning of Tuesday, the 5th October, the Landgrave quitted Marburg, and Luther and his party took their departure in the afternoon. The Reformer hastened to Schlaitz, agreeably to an invitation from the Elector, who was there waiting his arrival with the Margrave of Brandenburg to discuss the project of the alliance. On the 12th he was at Jena; but the only town in which he preached in his return journey was Gotha, where he yielded to the wishes of his friend Frederic Myconius, and ascended the pulpit. He was very ill during part of the journey, "plagued by the angel of Satan;" and did not reach Wittenberg till the middle of October.

His mind was now kept on the rack with anticipation of the fury with which the Turk, as the scourge of God, was about to avenge "the blasphemies of the opponents of the Gospel, and the intolerable ingratitude everywhere displayed by the populace." On the 19th, he wrote from Wittenberg to Amsdorf. "Yesterday evening I was dreadfully vexed in mind. The angel of Satan, or whoever is the demon of death, harasses me beyond measure, the fury of the Turks perchance, which is at the door, co-operating with him. May Christ pity us. Amen. Exhort your Church to repentance and prayer. It is high time; the necessity presses." He delivered it as his opinion that all Germans ought to unite against the Sultan for the common defence: it was no question about leagues or offensive war; the Turk was at their hearth homes; and Protestants should aid Papists, as one neighbour would help another if his house were in flames, or give food to an enemy who was starving. The translation of the book of

1529. Daniel was just ready for the press; and it was resolved to give it to the world with an explanatory treatise, the joint product of Melancthon and Jonas, in which passing events and the terrible invasion of the Ottoman forces were cited as the fulfilment of prophetic foresight.* "The scourge of God," Luther exclaimed, "is about to wreak his just wrath on us, on account of our sins: it will be no child's play, but God's final indignation: the world will have an end, and Christ will come to take vengeance on his foes and deliver his people." Animated with his subject, Luther sounded forth his trumpet notes to his countrymen to muster their armies and do battle against the Turks and the Turks' devil; the Church, in sackcloth and ashes, was to sink upon her knees before God in repentance, tears, and prayer, if peradventure He would show pity and be gracious, and leave a blessing behind him.

On the 26th October, welcome news reached Wittenberg. After a siege of twenty-one days, the Ottoman host, on the 16th October, had suddenly retired from the walls of Vienna; the clouds of light cavalry rapidly receded, from the straits of scarcity and the snow which lay round their camp, to the plenty of a warmer clime. But this memorable deliverance was hailed by the Germans with feelings far short of the gratitude which it ought to have inspired, and the tidings were received by some with indifference. "We Germans are always snoring," Luther exclaimed, in patriotic indignation;

* In his Battle Sermon against the Turk Luther dwelt on the same subject. The Antichristian power spoken of in Dan. xii. 39, &c., was the Pope; that in Dan. vii. 8, &c., the Turk. The Ten Horns of the last or Roman kingdom were Spain, France, Italy, Africa, Egypt, Syria, Asia, Greece, Germany, &c. The Little Horn coming up among them, or Mahomet, plucked up three of them by the roots, viz., Egypt, Asia, and Greece.—Walch. XX., pp. 2691, &c.

"and there are many traitors amongst us." "Pray," he 1529.
wrote to Myconius, "against the Turk and the gates of hell; that, as the angel could not destroy one little city for the sake of one just soul in it, so we may be spared for the sake of the few righteous that are in Germany." He recognised, in the wide devastation which the Sultan's army left behind it, the print of God's wrath on account of the persecuting malignity of the Popish princes, their interdiction of God's Word, and the sinfulness and supineness of the people even where the Word was allowed to be preached. He gathered from the prophecies of Daniel that the incursion would be renewed, and although Germany would not fall to the possession of the False Prophet, yet his scourge would still be inflicted on guilty Christendom till the end of time. The deliverance he ascribed to the power of prayer, and "the great miracle of God;" and he exulted in the conviction that the day of God's judgment was at hand, when he would "destroy Gog the Turk, and Magog the Pope, the political and ecclesiastical enemies of Christ." It soon appeared, however, that one danger had vanished only to make way for another; and writing a few days afterwards, he remarks, "We have two Cæsars, one of the east and one of the west, and both our foes."

Shortly after the evacuation of Vienna, intelligence was conveyed from the west, fraught with more special and imminent danger to the lives and doctrines of the Protestants than could be apprehended from the fellest havoc of the Turks. The Protestant ambassadors found the Emperor at Placentia, and submitted their suit to him on the 12th September, but were not vouchsafed an answer till the expiration of a month. They petitioned that the decree of the first Diet of Spires might be observed in the matter of religion, and they presented Pope Adrian's confession of ecclesiastical abuses, and

1529. the *Centum Gravamina* of the Nuremberg Diet of 1522. The tardy imperial reply maintained that the will of the majority, which had sanctioned the decree of the last Diet, was binding on all; and added "the gracious warning," that if the Elector of Saxony and his associates did not please to obey it, "his Majesty, to uphold obedience in his sacred kingdom, would impose serious punishment on them; but this, it was hoped, would be unnecessary, especially at a time when the Turk, the hereditary foe of the Christian name and faith, had seized upon Hungary, meditating with his wonted fury to extend his reign farther." Upon this answer being returned through the imperial secretary, the ambassadors placed in his hands the Appeal of the princes and states. The secretary at first declined, but at length consented to receive it: but at midday he returned with the message that his imperial Majesty was highly incensed by the Appeal, and commanded the ambassadors not to move a foot from their lodging, nor communicate by letter or by messenger with their friends in Germany. One of the three ambassadors, Michael Caden, was intentionally absent when the secretary returned with this order, and, "before writing should be forbidden to himself as well as to the others," related all that had passed in a letter to the Senate of Nuremberg the same day. The next day the ambassadors had another Appeal drawn up and signed against the answer which the Emperor had transmitted to them, to "a free common Christian Council." Charles pursued his route to Bologna, where he was to be solemnly crowned by the Pope, and gave orders that the ambassadors should follow him; but, on the last day of October, on arriving at Parma, Ehinger and Frauentraut were dismissed.* Caden was still detained, on the plea that he had offered to the Emperor a

* See the whole account, Walch. XVI., pp. 542—624.

Lutheran book, in which doctrines were inculcated sub- 1529.
versive of the civil authority. The authority which the book really impugned was that of the bishops in civil matters. The fortunate retreat of the Turkish forces did not deter Charles from prosecuting his plan of proceeding to Germany: on the contrary, it offered an opportunity, such as might never recur, of directing all his attention to the one object of quelling religious differences, for the accomplishment of which the treaties concluded at Barcelona with the Pope in June, and at Cambray with Francis in August, were likewise most propitious.

This state of affairs—the suit of the ambassadors rejected and themselves put in custody; Charles on his way to Germany, where he might be expected the following spring; his dislike to the anti-Papist doctrines, which the retreat of the Turks and his peace with Francis and with the Pope all seemed to conspire to enable him to gratify—all portended extreme peril to the Protestants, and caused Philip of Hesse to redouble his exertions for effecting the armed coalition. The meeting held at Schwabach October 15, postponed the consideration of the Protestant league to a larger meeting, to be held at Smalkald: and the threatening intelligence which the letter of Caden had conveyed, caused the Smalkald convention to be summoned for the 29th November, earlier than had been anticipated. But meanwhile, the Elector of Saxony requested of Luther his opinion on the true course of action in the present menacing attitude of the Emperor and the Papist princes and prelates. If there was any man in Germany who had reason to dread for himself individually the advent of Charles to his imperial dominions, and the execution by his authority of projects which the partisans of Rome had long cherished, it was Luther. Duke George had boasted he would tear Luther from the midst of his sectarian university: he had

1529. wanted power adequate to the enterprise: but the Emperor was armed with the sword of the Empire, and a ready pretext, the Edict of Worms, for suffering its weight to descend on one convicted and condemned. It was now to be seen whether, under circumstances of such terror to his cause and person, Luther would adhere steadfastly to the maxims he had before laid down, or allow his principles to swerve with his interest. And there was much that might give a plausible colouring to a change of counsel. The conference at Marburg, if it had not effected all that could have been wished, had at least terminated so amicably, that Philip of Hesse might well hope to make it a stepping-stone to the accomplishment of his designs.

Such was the aggravation of circumstances under which Luther was again called upon to deliver his sentiments on the proposed defensive alliance; and his answer, dated the 18th November, was to this effect:—"We cannot in our conscience approve or counsel such a compact; but had rather die ten times over, than that the Gospel should be a cause of blood or hurt, by any act of ours. Let us rather patiently suffer, and, as the Prophet says, be counted as sheep for the slaughter; and instead of avenging or defending ourselves, leave room for God's wrath. Our Lord Christ is mighty enough, and can well find means and ways to rescue us from danger, and bring the thoughts of the ungodly princes to nothing. The Emperor's undertaking is a loud threat of the devil, but it will be powerless, and at last will turn to the ruin of our adversaries. As the Psalm says, 'It will fall on his own pate.' Christ is only trying us whether we are willing to obey his Word or no, and whether we hold it for certain truth or not. The cross of Christ must be borne. The cause is not ours, but God's. And we shall still find, as we have hitherto found, that with prayers and entreaties to God we

shall avail more than they, with all their haughtiness. Only 1529.
let us keep our hands clean of blood and guilt; and if the Emperor demand that I or the rest be surrendered to him, we will with God's help appear in our own cause, and not expose your Grace to peril on our account, as I formerly often informed my gracious Lord, your Grace's God-fearing brother. Your Grace shall not defend my faith, or another's; you cannot do it: but you must defend your own faith, and believe or not believe at your own risk, if our Supreme Ruler the Emperor demand it at our hands. Meanwhile he has much water to cross, and God will easily devise counsel whereby matters will not go quite as they think. Christ our Lord and our trust strengthen your Grace richly."

It now remained to be seen whether the influence of Luther with the Elector was sufficiently strong to overbear the continued solicitations of the Landgrave, backed by the urgency of the crisis and the obvious prudential arguments for self-defence. And it was not long before the Elector became decidedly of Luther's views; and saw the scriptural line of policy exactly as he saw it. Not only, however, the Elector, but the Margrave of Brandenburg also and the city of Nuremberg, stoutly maintained the obligation of warring with no carnal weapon, but only with the sword of the Spirit. The meeting at Smalkald was largely attended by the parties to the protest. The Elector of Saxony and his son, the Dukes of Luneburg, the Landgrave, the legate of the Margrave George, and deputies from Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Constance, Memmingen, Kempten, and Lindau, together with the ambassadors who had lately experienced the imperial rigour, debated on the eve of momentous events the awful question of peace or war. There was a sharp dispute between the strictly Lutheran party and the Landgrave, whether or no it was

1529. lawful to resist the Emperor, the former insisting on the negative. The same section, animated with the very spirit of their Reformer, persisted that before any alliance could be agreed to, it should be distinctly understood that there was no diversity of sentiment on any article of faith; and they carried this point against the Zwinglian party and the Landgrave, who strove to act as mediator. Seventeen articles which had before been brought forward at Schwabach were again adduced: they are known as the Schwabach or Smalkald articles; and it was required that the princes and deputies should declare their assent by affixing their signatures. These articles are nearly the same with the Marburg, excepting that they declare under the tenth head, without any ambiguity, that the very body and blood of Christ are really present in the Sacrament, and condemn the notion that the bread is simply ordinary bread.* This was enough to break up the meeting, for the cities of Strasburg and Ulm could not accede to the Lutheran dogma on the Sacrament. It was arranged, however, that another convention should be held at Nuremberg in the beginning of the ensuing year, but the invitation to this conference was limited to such as could concur with the seventeen articles. Accordingly, the whole scheme of the alliance was split upon this rock of doctrinal disagreement; for the convention at Nuremberg, which met on the 6th January, was thinly attended, and the deputies parted with the understanding, that at present no settlement could be effected, the arrival of the Emperor must be awaited, and meanwhile each should deliberate at home on the plan of defence which seemed most expedient, and, within the space of a month, forward his advice to the Elector. Thus by his own policy, founded on religious con-

* See them, Walch. XVI., pp. 681, &c.

viction, Luther was abandoned to the Emperor and the Pope, 1529.
and refused the protection of man for himself or the cause of the Gospel.

The Reformation was about to undergo a new trial. It had long since conquered Rome in popular opinion: but its triumph had been subsequently much impaired by internal differences. If Luther had understood better the true spirit of Christian unity, the unanimous phalanx of Protestants could have set despotism, whether civil or ecclesiastical, at defiance; but in such an event an appeal to arms, from a sense of human strength, might have earlier sullied the cause of enlightenment and the regeneration of the Christian world with the foul blots of blood. Throughout its annals the leadership of the movement had been contested between two principles—one represented first by Sickingen and afterwards by Philip of Hesse, the other by Martin Luther; neither, it is true, thoroughly enlightened: but victory most providentially rested with the side which, with however much of lingering bigotry and prejudice, bore on its banner, not Man's Might, but God's Word. Such Christian faith, so deeply rooted in the heart, was now about to be brought into collision, undefended by man's arm, and renouncing such defence, with the leagued despotism of State and Church, prepared to second its pretensions with cannon, sword, and every available weapon of force or fraud. Charles himself intended to continue his route to Germany, and honour the Diet which had been appointed to meet at Augsburg with his presence; and meanwhile he was spending his hours at Bologna in the society of Clement, residing in the same palace with him, talking over political affairs, above all, planning the extinction of heresy.

The mention of the Diet of Augsburg suggests by association the Diet of Worms, which had met nine years before.

1529. Those nine years have no parallel save in the apostolic age. At Worms, one man, charged with opposing Scripture to tradition, had been arraigned and condemned: at Augsburg, the one condemned man having in the interval grown into the nation, Germany, in his place, was about to answer the record of indictment. In so short a period, ideas, principles, and institutions had been revolutionized. Not only in Germany had the doctrines of Scripture spread with a rapidity as marvellous, and a force as irresistible, as the light of day itself; but in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, the evangelical teaching had been everywhere disseminated, and was perpetuated in well-organized establishments. Switzerland only complained that Germany was not sufficiently anti-papal. England was wavering; and as early as 1527, an evangelical society had established itself at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In Italy, at Faenza and among the old literary associations; in Spain, among the Franciscan fraternity, the scriptural revival had commenced with vigour. In France, at Meaux, at Metz, and in Dauphiny, the Gospel had been warmly embraced; persecution had now driven its heralds to Basle: but Margaret of Navarre still cherished the Reformed tenets at her brother's court. In many countries and provinces, where the sword was the unanswerable champion for Rome, the people sighed in secret for the liberty of proclaiming their adhesion to the Word of God, and hearing it publicly preached: and now and then, one bolder or more deeply influenced than the rest, spoke out his convictions, and paid the forfeit of his life. It seemed at this crisis as though all Europe would have turned from the papal chair to the Word of God, if the ruling powers would have granted freedom of religious belief. And with such triumphs already won, Luther might indeed well disclaim any aid except the power of that Word, which had alone accomplished, in spite of per-

secution, "with the unresistible might of weakness," all that 1529.
he heard and witnessed.

Before concluding the chapter, and passing to a new epoch, it is incumbent to visit again the domestic circle in the Augustine convent, and tread the streets of the Saxon town, which had attained a celebrity so disproportioned to its size and antecedent fame. Wittenberg, the focus of illumination, the centre of those religious ideas which were agitating society, from the Emperor to the serf, was itself a quiet, studious retreat, with not much to attract the outward eye. It was in the autumn of the year 1529, that Mathesius, the contemporary biographer of Luther, became a student of "the renowned university," "the praise of which, and of its good people," he says, that "he trusts, if God will, to divulge at the last day, and to all eternity." The next Sunday after his admission to the University, at vespers, he heard "the great man, Dr. Luther, preach," from the Acts of the Apostles, ii. 38—the words of St. Peter enjoining repentance and baptism:—What a sermon from the lips of "the man of God!"—"for which all the days of his pilgrimage on earth, and throughout eternity, he should have to give God thanks." At that period Melancthon lectured on Cicero's "De Oratoribus," and his oration "Pro Archiâ;" before noon on the Epistle to the Romans; every Wednesday on Aristotle's Ethics: Bugenhagen on the Epistle to the Corinthians: Jonas on the Psalms: Aurogallus on Hebrew Grammar: Weimar on Greek: Tulich on Cicero's "Offices:" Bach on Virgil: Volmar on the theory of the Planets: Mulich on Astronomy: Cruciger on Terence, for the younger students. Perfect concord prevailed between the students and townspeople. The private schools were vigorously conducted; and Mathesius had for his host Wolf John von Rochlitz, and enjoyed the elevating associations connected with the memory

1529. of "the dear martyr Leonhard Cæsar," who had sat at the same table before him, the history of whose patient imprisonment and courageous martyrdom had been published by Luther.

1530. The new year found Dr. Luther energetic as ever in his studies and writings. A second edition of the Battle sermon had been issued; a treatise on "the rights of matrimony" was under composition; a book on the rites and religion of the Turks, a reprint of a work seventy years old, was in the press: the German New Testament had undergone another revision, and a careful explanatory preface was prefixed to the Apocalypse; and, after the publication of this fresh edition, the translation of the Prophets was to be resumed. Indeed, before the end of February the translation of Daniel, dedicated to John Frederic, was in the press, and Jeremiah was in hand. To these unremitting toils of the closet must be added addresses from the pulpit. But the proficiency of "the Capernaites of Wittenberg" was by no means in proportion to the pains and assiduity bestowed on their instruction. Mathesius relates, that about this time Luther was so much offended with the practical ungodliness of his townspeople, that he preached a vehement call to repentance, and warned them that thenceforth he should no more speak to them in the name of the Lord. And this assurance, says his biographer, he kept for some time, "till his violent zeal cooled a little, or rather, till God's Word burnt in his heart as fire, and he could no longer forbear."

The sickness of his aged father, of which he received intelligence from his brother James, in February, drew from him a letter which places his filial devotion in a striking light. He could not wait at Mansfeld, he stated, on his father in this illness, because the journey would be attended with much personal danger from the enmity of many lords, and

even peasants, whom he had provoked by his behaviour in 1530.
the late insurrection; he therefore entreated his father and mother, were it possible, to come to him; and he sent his servant Cyriacus to make the necessary preparations, or report to him how matters stood. Kate, and all at the convent, besought them to come, with tears. For himself, he desired to be "in bodily attendance on them, and, according to the fourth commandment, to show his gratitude to God and them, with childlike truth and service." He goes on to express his joy that his father had been released from the wretched darkness and error of Popery, and his hope that God's work by Divine grace was begun in him. All the scorn and contumely he had endured on his son's account were so many true tokens of resemblance to the Lord Jesus. The whole world, he continues, is a valley of woe, and the longer we live in it the more of sin and wickedness, misfortune and misery, do we see and suffer, which never cease till the sexton's shovel scoops us another chamber, where we repose peacefully in Christ's rest, till he comes and wakes us up with jubilee. And the separation, till all would meet again in Christ's kingdom, would be a very brief interval, much shorter, to God's reckoning, than the time spent in the journey from Mansfeld to Wittenberg. "Kate, Johnny, little Lena and aunt Lena, and the whole house, greet you and pray for you. Greet my dear mother and all my friends. God's grace and strength be with and abide with you for ever. Amen."

The approaching Diet now engrossed the public mind. Resistance to the Turks would occupy a large space in the deliberations; and the ample grants the Pope would make the Emperor, were the subject of angry rancour; but such concessions, every one knew, meant more than met the ear, and it was concluded that the chief article of deliberation

1530. would be the settlement of religious variances. In the beginning of March, Luther received a communication from the Elector, putting the question to him in the most direct form—"Whether armed resistance to the Emperor were justifiable?" Luther consulted with Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melancthon, and replied—"No one, who would be a Christian, could oppose his ruler, but must endure patiently, right or wrong. If the Emperor should break all the commands of God, nay, should be a heathen, he would still be the Emperor. For the Elector of Saxony to arm his subjects against the Emperor, would be as if a burgomaster of Torgau should arm his boroughmen against the Elector of Saxony." The lawyers differed from Luther in the decision of this nice point of casuistry, the determination of which the history of the world has so often forced on the mind; and, taking rather a constitutional than a theological view of the question, denied that the relation of the Elector of Saxony to the Emperor was similar to that of a burgomaster of a town in Saxony to the Saxon Prince. But it was evident from experience whose verdict would weigh the most with the Elector John. On the 14th, Luther received from the Court the gracious request that himself, Bugenhagen, Jonas, and Melancthon would concert measures in reference to the Diet, which was close at hand, and then come to Torgau. Jonas was absent on a visitation tour, but Luther immediately wrote to him to urge his return; and the Elector having despatched another letter to request that the deliberations might be conducted at Torgau, the Reformers went thither at the end of March, and reviewed there the Schwabach Articles, which hence are sometimes called the Torgau Articles, and gave them their sanction, as well adapted to serve as the basis of a more extended and systematic statement of the evangelical tenets. It had now ceased to be a question whether the Elector and his

Lutheran allies should boldly meet the Emperor at Augsburg, 1530.
and face the fury of the storm, or dare the worst their enemies could do against them at a distance: Luther's admonitions to obedience and courage had conquered; and, before his departure with the Elector, he implored that the Church would diligently pray for a blessing on the national consultations. "Only let us pray, and the gates of hell will never prevail."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE 3RD APRIL, 1530, TO THE 30TH MAY, 1536.

1530. On Sunday the 3rd April (Judica) the Elector of Saxony, with the nobles and theologians who were to accompany him to the Augsburg Diet, assembled in the Castle Church to join in devout prayers to God, and hear from the great Reformer an exhortation to that courage and constancy which their situation and the crisis so peremptorily demanded of the first Protestant champions. Luther took for his text Matt. x. 32, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven;" and rarely has the spirit of a sermon been evidenced with such power by the subsequent conduct of those who heard it. In the afternoon, the Elector John, with his son John Frederic, Francis Duke of Luneburg, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, and Albert Count of Mansfeld, with other noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of seventy, which was increased by attendants to a cavalcade of 160 horsemen, quitted Torgau, and took the road to Grimma. Luther, Jonas, Melancthon, Spalatin, and Agricola, were the theologians who had been chosen to accompany the Elector, and by their instructions, and their example, aid the steadfastness of his testimony to Christ. The notes of Luther's hymn of unshaken confidence in God, that well-known paraphrase of his favourite forty-sixth Psalm, frequently resounded along the troop of horsemen, as well as animated the hearts of the evangelical worshippers throughout their churches during this season of anxiety. On Monday

morning the Elector and his retinue proceeded to Altenburg, 1530.
and on the following Wednesday advanced to Eisenberg, and on the eve of Palm Sunday reached Weimar; and on Palm Sunday the whole company received the communion in both kinds, and listened to more than one address from Luther. On Tuesday, the 12th, they again set forward, and rested that night at Saalfeld, where Luther again preached. On Maundy Thursday they reposed at the Castle of Grafenthal; on Good Friday at Neustadtel, at the entrance of the Thuringian Forest; throughout each day of the sacred week Luther continuing his discourses from the pulpit. On Easter Eve they halted before the Elector's fortress of Coburg.

The Elector remained at Coburg until the afternoon of Saturday, the 23rd April, and then proceeded on his journey, passing through Bamberg, Nuremberg, and Donauwerth; and on Monday, the 2nd May, to the surprise and admiration of the Protestants of Augsburg, made his entrance into that city before the arrival of any of the Papist princes. Luther had been left at Coburg, as had been intended from the first; for the Ediet of Worms was regarded by the Emperor as still legally in force, and it would have been not more impolitic than unjustifiable, on moral grounds, to rouse the resentment of the Romanists by any act of temerity and defiance. The Castle of Coburg, Luther's second Wartburg, stands on a high hill above the town, in a pleasant situation overlooking the river Itz. It was placed entirely at Luther's command, the keys of every room were given into his hands, and the inmates, fourteen in number, of whom twelve kept guard by night and two acted as watchmen by day, and as couriers, paid him all the respect that could be rendered to a master. Cyriacus, his own servant, waited on him; and his friend Veit Dietrich was at once his companion and amanuensis. But it was not thought desirable that Luther should

1530. spend much time in study; his constitution, naturally of the strongest mould, had lately shown symptoms that the immense toil and endurance of his whole lifetime were beginning to tell on it, and Dietrich was enjoined to restrain his ardour for writing, and amuse him with conversation and such other means as offered themselves. Meanwhile Melancthon was busily engaged with the celebrated "Confession," which had been partly begun at Coburg with Luther's aid, and was now prosecuted at Augsburg with great vigour; and a brisk correspondence was maintained between the Reformers.

Shortly after he was left alone, Luther wrote to Melancthon, "We have at last come to our Sinai, dearest Philip; but we shall make a Sion of this Sinai, and rear three tabernacles: one to the Psalms, one to the Prophets, and one to Æsop; the last only temporary." Strange juxtaposition; highly emblematical of Luther's almost contradictory tastes and faculties! These studies, however, could not be undertaken immediately, for the requisite books and papers had not arrived from Wittenberg, and indeed did not come to hand until the end of the month; and therefore Luther spent the first shafts of his zeal in an Admonition to the Ecclesiastics assembled at the Diet of Nuremberg. Thoughts, he said, like landsnechts, came rushing fierce and dense upon him, as he sat at his work, and he found difficulty in restraining the impetuosity of his ideas, and tempering his caustic style. From the Papists he turned to the Turks, the other arm of Satan; and translated the two chapters of Ezekiel containing the prophecy of Gog and Magog, and prefixed an expository preface. But the emotions which these subjects kindled were too vehement for mind or body to bear long; he sought refuge in his flute: this required mending; and applying himself to this task seemed to divert his anxiety. Then the

scenery around the castle was full of interest: a sloping 1530.
lawn in front of his window, environed with woods, was the chosen resort of rooks and jackdaws, which were "screaming in his ears all day and all night"—"all the fowl of that feather in the world seemed congregated there;" and he found relief from the internal tragedy by framing their antics into a comedy.

"I have no need to go to the Diet of Augsburg," he wrote to his messmates at Wittenberg, and to Spalatin at Augsburg, "I have a diet immediately in front of my own window. Here I see magnanimous kings, dukes, and nobles, consult over the affairs of their realm, and with unremitting clang proclaim their decrees and dogmas through the air. They do not meet in caves or dens of courts called palaces; but the spacious heaven is their roof, verdant grass and foliage their pavement, and their walls are wide as the ends of the earth. They are not arrayed in gold and silk, but all wear a vestment of black, have eyes of a gray hue, and speak in the same music, save the diversity of youth and age. Horses and harness they spurn at, and move on the rapid wheels of wings. As far as I understand the herald of their decrees, they have unanimously resolved to wage this whole year a war on barley, wheat, oats, and every kind of grain; and great deeds will be done. Here we sit, spectators of this diet; and, to our great joy and comfort, observe and hear how the princes, lords, and estates of the empire are all singing so merrily and living so heartily. But it gives us especial pleasure to remark with what knightlike air they swing their tails, stroke their bills, tilt at one another, and strike and parry; so that we believe they will win great honour over the wheat and barley." Looking, however, more attentively at the spectacle in front of the castle, he was better pleased with a more close and special application of the

1530. comedy. "It seems to me that these rooks and jackdaws are after all nothing else but the sophists and Papists, with their preachings and writings, who will fain present themselves in a heap, and make us listen to their lovely voices and beautiful sermons." In his letter of the 28th April, he notes, "To-day, for the first time, we have heard the nightingale; the weather is bitterly cold." He dated his correspondence from "Gruboc" inverting the letters of Coburg, or else from "the Region of the Birds," or "the Diet of the Jackdaws."

The end of April the books arrived from Wittenberg, and he returned to his translation of the Prophets, resuming his version of Jeremiah, and applied with such energy to the the work, that he indulged the hope of completing the version of the Prophets before Whitsunday. The translation of some of Æsop's fables, for the edification of youth, was to engage his attention afterwards. But he quickly found that he had reckoned on the abilities of the mind, without taking into the calculation the wear and tear of the body; for a very few days of severe intellectual toil laid "the outward man, unable to bear the force and vigour of the inner and new man," quite prostrate. His head resounded with noises, claps like thunder dinned through it; and the work was compelled to be laid aside, and for some weeks his eyes could not endure the sight of a letter. "My caput," he wrote to Melancthon, "is turned to a chapter (capitulum), it will soon become a paragraph, and then dwindle to a period." And he availed himself of the opportunity to warn Philip, by his example, to "take care of his own precious little body, and not commit homicide." "God," said he, "is served by rest, by nothing more than rest, and therefore he has willed that the Sabbath should be so rigidly kept." In this state of weakness and prostration of body, spiritual temptation

supervened; "an embassage from Satan" waited on him, 1530.
and he sighed and groaned for the day when the power of the tempter should be destroyed. When he was able to resume his studies, he used great caution and moderation, but was able to complete the version of Jeremiah before the end of June. Ezekiel was then taken in hand, but it proved a very onerous task, and was laid aside for a time; but was subsequently resumed and finished. Before the middle of August, the Minor Prophets, "leisurely and by way of recreation," had all been translated, with the exception of Haggai and Malachi. But translation was not the only fruit of Luther's Coburg retirement. He wrote an admirable discourse on the necessity of schools for children; an exposition of the 113th Psalm (Confitemini), "an alms-giving to the poor printers;" expositions of the 117th, and of the 2nd Psalms, the latter addressed to the Archbishop of Mentz, and also of other passages of Scripture. In the latter part of July he composed a tract on the Papist lies about Purgatory, which he followed up by a tract on the Papist lies about the Keys; and in September he wrote an Epistle on the Interpretation of Scripture, and on the Intercession of Saints.

The letter-carriers from Wittenberg passed by, for the most part, Luther's beacon tower on their way to Augsburg, and thus the Reformer generally learnt the news from home before the theologians who were in attendance upon the Diet. Luther had heavy tidings to break to Jonas—the death of a son born since their departure from Wittenberg, and weak from the birth—the second domestic affliction which had lighted upon the same family in a brief space of time. On the 19th May, Luther wrote a letter of consolation to his sick father, and lamented that he could console him no better, "being, like the region round him, parched and arid." "Remember," he said, "the blessings you still enjoy, for a

1530. virtuous woman is a crown to her husband, and do not wish like a glutton to have every delight of life, and so resemble in no respect the brethren of Christ, who must through much tribulation seize the kingdom of God by violence." Luther had to deal out his consolations on all sides. The Elector had sent him a message to request he would take the poor accommodation he found at the castle in good part, and not think his sojourn there very tedious. He replied that "he lived like the Lords," and the weeks which he had spent at Coburg had flown so rapidly that they had scarcely appeared three days. But, having heard from the theologians that John was much depressed in spirits because the Emperor still delayed his entrance into Augsburg, whereby the rumours of his ungracious feelings towards himself seemed confirmed, and the expenditure of his table, which was very great, was necessarily enhanced, the Reformer directed the eye of his Prince to a more cheering and encouraging picture than immediate circumstances afforded. "Your trials," he said, "are tokens that God is gracious towards you. Think how good he is to you. Your Grace's land has the best teachers and preachers in the whole world, who proclaim the pure Gospel, and preserve the blessings of peace. A tender youth of boys and girls is there growing up, nurtured with the Catechism and Scriptures, who can pray, believe, and speak of God and Christ, as no cathedral, cloister, or school has hitherto been, or is now able. Such a youth is a fair Paradise, the like whereof is not to be seen upon earth elsewhere. And God builds it in your Grace's bosom. It is as though he said to you, 'Here, dear Duke John, I commit to thee my most precious treasure, my gladsome Paradise: thou shalt be father over it; I place it under thy shelter and rule, and do thee such honour as to make thee warden of my garden.' All these children must eat your Grace's bread,

which is as if God himself was your Grace's guest and pen- 1530.
sioner. On the other hand, the Papist Princes give not a draught of cold water to God of all their goods—nay, to the thirsty Christ upon the cross they hold out vinegar, myrrh, and gall. The young children will bring a blessing on your head, who with their innocent tongues cry so heartily to heaven, and so truly commend your Grace to the tender-hearted God as their dear father."

Turning his thoughts homeward, whence he received good tidings of his son Johnny, from Weller his tutor, he indited a letter to the child to encourage him in learning. "Grace, and love in Christ, my dear little son. I see with delight that you learn well, and love to pray. Go on so, my little son, and when I return home, I will bring you a pretty fairing. I know a beautiful, delightful garden, where many children go in, and have on golden jackets, and gather beautiful apples under the apple-trees, and pears, and cherries, and plums; sing, and jump, and are merry: they have beautiful ponies with golden bits and silver saddles. I asked the man to whom the garden belongs, Whose children are these? He said, 'They are children who love to pray, and learn well, and are good.' So I said, 'Dear man, I have a son, called Johnny Luther, may not he come into this garden and eat such beautiful apples and pears, and ride such pretty ponies, and play with these children?' Then he said, 'If he loves to pray, and learn, and is good, he may come into the garden, and Lippus and Jost too; and if they all come together, they shall have pipes, drums, lutes and every kind of stringed instrument, and dance, and shoot with little cross-bows.' So he showed me a lovely meadow in the garden, prepared for dancing, where were many golden pipes, drums, and beautiful silver cross-bows. But it was too early for the children to come; so I could not wait to see

1530. the dancing, but said to the man, 'Dear sir, I shall soon come again, and I shall write all this to my dear little son, Johnny, that he may love to pray, and learn well, and be good, so that he may come into this garden. But he has an aunt, Lena, who must come with him.' So the man said, 'Yes it shall be so; and go and write to him.' Therefore, dear little son Johnny, learn, and pray cheerfully, and tell Lippus and Jost to do so too, and so you shall all come together into the garden. Herewith, I commend you to Almighty God, and greet aunt Lena, and give her a kiss from me. Your dear father, Martin Luther." It was about the time of writing this letter that the Reformer received intelligence of the death of his aged father, whose removal to Wittenberg in his failing state of health had not been possible, and he was overwhelmed with the keenest sorrow at the tidings. "Whatever I am, or have," he said, "I owe under God to him, who made and fashioned me such as I am, by the sweat of his brow; and though I am much comforted that he has sweetly fallen asleep in Christ, the recollection of his society has so shaken my soul, that I scarcely ever had such a contempt of death. But the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. We so often die, ere we die once! I am now the old Luther of my family."

The Landgrave of Hesse, who only attended the Diet at all in compliance with the advice and example of the Elector John, had entered Augsburg on the 12th May, accompanied by 120 horsemen. On the 15th, the deputies of Nuremberg, with Osiander, made their entrance, and took up their quarters nearly opposite to the Landgrave's lodging. But considerable apprehensions were entertained in regard to Philip's constancy by the strict Lutherans: he was continually assailed with letters on the sacramentarian controversy by the Swiss; his chancellor Feige (Ficinus) avowed his sympathy with

Zwingle; and Snepf, who remained attached to Luther, was 1530.
doubtful both as to his prince's maintenance of the pure evangelical faith, and of the maxims of peace. By order of the Elector and Landgrave, Protestant preachers immediately proceeded to hold their discourses in the principal churches; those selected by the Elector preached first in the Dominican church, afterwards at St. Catharine's, and were all strict Lutherans; those appointed by Philip were of the Reformed or Evangelical church indiscriminately, and preached at first in the Cathedral, afterwards at St. Ulric's. The Lutheran preachers, Osiander and Agricola, were extremely popular; and the citizens of Augsburg, in unprecedented numbers, flocked to the temples of God. Meanwhile the Emperor continued to delay his advent: he had moved in the sacred week from Mantua, and in the beginning of May had advanced as far as Innspruck, but there he remained stationary. One of the first princes, who tendered him his homage at Innspruck, was his brother-in-law, Christian, the ex-king of Denmark, and one of the earliest pieces of intelligence from the imperial court was, that this banished monarch, who had become a Lutheran to appease his subjects, had now returned to Popery to please the Emperor. This seemed a prognostication of the personal interest of Charles in the religious conflict. Presently the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and Duke George of Saxony, arrived in Augsburg; but finding that the Emperor was still at Innspruck, hastened on from the contaminating vicinity of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, to breathe orthodox air in the imperial court, which was honoured by the presence of the Legate Campegio. Thus the Protestants at Augsburg and the Romanists at Innspruck lay, like two hostile armies in adverse camps, preparing for battle, making their reconnoissances and maturing their own plan of operations. At Augsburg the "Apology,"

1530. or rather "Confession," which Melancthon had been appointed to draw up, had assumed shape and polish under his unflagging diligence, which scarcely knew intermission by day or night; and on the 11th May it was forwarded for Luther's examination to Coburg, with a letter from the Elector, and also a letter from Melancthon, in which he intimated that he had been mindful in its preparation of the calumnies which Eck and Cochlæus were reiterating against the evangelicals. Luther returned it with his approval, and without a single alteration, and spoke of it in his letter to the Elector in the following terms:—"I have read over Master Philip's Apology: it pleases me right well, and I know not how to better or alter anything in it, and will not hazard the attempt; for I cannot myself tread so softly and gently. Christ our Lord help, that it bear much and great fruit; as we hope and pray. Amen." After receiving back his work, Melancthon still toiled on with his revisions and emendations. At Innspruck, on the other hand, Duke George and the extreme Papists were bent on persuading the Emperor that the Elector of Saxony was meditating snares against the imperial person, and spoke of the multitude of armed retainers whom they had seen round his hotel, in their passage through Augsburg. The upshot of these complaints was, that the town-council of Augsburg were commanded to remove the chains and bolts which had been fixed to some of the street walls, and to disband the troops which they had enlisted, with a view to maintaining order. But in the Emperor's cabinet, as well as among the Protestants, there were two parties; and Charles' chancellor, Cardinal Gattinara, who sincerely entertained the moderate sentiments which Glapio had professed at Worms, served as a counterpoise to the extreme faction, and looked forward to a Council as the only means of abolishing abuses in the Church, and restoring the purity of the faith. His health,

however, had for some time been drooping, and his death, 1530.
which took place on the 4th June, gave preponderance to the violent Papists, and was lamented as a real affliction by Melancthon.

The first subject of direct collision between the Papists and Protestants was the question of free preaching. Before the Emperor took any overt step in this matter, rumour anticipated his intention of putting an end to the Protestant discourses, which attracted large audiences, and served to keep the zeal of the party at a high temperature. The Elector John, therefore, required of his theologians their opinions as to the propriety of yielding to the Emperor, and desisting from preaching, if he should demand it. They all delivered it as their judgment, that the Emperor ought to be implicitly obeyed. In his written judgment Melancthon distinguishes between public and private preaching, and argues that the former might certainly cease if the latter were allowed; but he goes on to affirm, that if the Emperor should prohibit the latter also, that point too must be surrendered to him. "We are," he said, "under necessity, like those cast into chains." "We are in the Emperor's city," he wrote to Luther, "and, as it were, his Majesty's guests." Strange to say, the verdict of Luther coincided with Melancthon's, and he declared "The Emperor is master; the State and all are his; and to oppose his will would be as if any one should contend against the Elector in his town of Torgau." But he suggested that fit and prudent representations should be offered to induce his Imperial Majesty not to condemn the preaching unheard, with the assurance that nothing whatever tending to tumult or fanaticism was inculcated. But if this would not help, then "might must go for right," and the Evangelicals, having done their duty, must leave results to God. The Elector, however, remained still firm—in Melancthon's language, "an

1530. obstinate old man;" and Bruck, with his usual sagacity, perceiving the importance of the subject in dispute, and the effect which yielding on the first point attacked must have in inflating the confidence of the Romanists, advised him by all means to resist the Emperor's demand, "for it was a question of preferring the command of God, or that of man." The Elector accordingly sent Dolzig to present his reply in the negative to the order which the Counts of Nassau and Nuenar had delivered to him from Charles, and at the same time to some accusations insinuated against him in their words with something like a threat; and although a second embassage repeated the command that the preaching must be discontinued, John was not to be moved. It was then debated among the Lutherans what reply should be made, if the Emperor demanded, according to expectation, that the fast-days of the Romish Church should be observed; and Luther and Melancthon again counselled obedience. This, however, was a question of a different nature.

The Emperor still lingered on at Innspruck. Ambassadors, who had implored him to come to Augsburg, received a courteous answer, but could not quicken his movements. It became noised abroad that Charles had no intention of visiting Augsburg at all; that his purpose was to waste the substance of the Protestant princes by keeping them and their large retinues in lengthened expectation of his arrival, at a time when the price of all commodities was most exorbitant. Luther, in his castle, received these floating reports, but was not dismayed by any of them. He only complained that although letter-carriers frequently passed, his friends at Augsburg had failed to write to him for three weeks; and when at last letters from Melancthon arrived, he would not for some time open them. But he resolved to be in good spirits. "God," said he, "is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

He is the God not of sorrow, but of joy. If birds will fly over your head, at least let them not nestle in your hair. If cares flock in, be sure that they flock out again." The tones of his voice or the notes of his flute echoed along the massive walls of the fortress, and put "that proud, melancholy spirit Satan," with all his rout, to flight. Finding an old piece of music in the castle, he patched it up, and made additions, and exulted in the jest of palming it off as an exquisite composition, on a friend who fancied himself a connoisseur in the art. The abodes of the rooks and jackdaws were visited by him in person; to his amusement, they were in consternation at his approach; he clapped his hands, and threw up his cap, and enjoyed their terrors: it seemed to him that they were "the harpies of the Papists trembling at the word of God." He complained, however, bitterly of being himself disturbed in his retirement, like the poor rooks, by intruders. Argula Von Stauffen paid him a visit on the 2nd June; and at a later period Urban Regius, who as a youth had been the protegé of the great lawyer Zasius, and as a man under the very wing and patronage of Eck, at Ingolstadt, had warmly embraced the Lutheran opinions when they were first promulgated. Urban Regius has left it on record:—"The most pleasant day I spent in my whole life I passed with Luther, at Coburg. He is a greater theologian than any previous age has produced; and I am astonished at the folly of those who can put Carlstadt in competition with him, who does not come up to his shadow. Luther's books show his genius; but if you see him face to face, and hear him speak of godly matters with apostolic spirit, then will you say, it is true Luther is too great for any sciolist to be able to comprehend him." Another of the numerous visitors to his retreat was his old playmate John Reineck, with whom, thirty-seven years before, he had travelled on foot to the choral school at Magdeburg. 1530.

1530. But the greater part of his visitors were only an interruption and annoyance; so that he formed the plan of counterfeiting a flight, to put curiosity on the wrong scent, and of then returning unobserved to his lair. Yet he was sometimes to be seen in the town, where he was pleased with the society of John Sternberg, and of the pastor of the place, who often gave him absolution and administered to him the holy communion, as well as of others of the good people of Coburg. On one occasion he was invited to a wedding entertainment in Coburg; he declined to attend personally, but sent his nuptial gift—a figure of a child made out of tin, filled with salt, with a ducat attached, bearing the words, "In marriage are three things — pain and toil, joy and delight, care and woe." His love of humour —which perhaps necessity, as at the Wartburg, brought into more active exercise than was even his wont—pervaded all his speculations in his private hours on the threatening aspect of public affairs. He represents in his correspondence, the Venetians, the Florentines, Mr. Par-ma-foi, or the King of France, and Mr. In-nomine-Domini, or the Pope, as making a most holy league, and contributing largely from their coffers to help forward their design, so that it became a very costly affair; but that, he said, belongs to the chapter of Non-credimus. Mr. Par-ma-foi could never forget the defeat at Pavia: Mr. In-nomine-Domini was, first, a born Italian, bad enough; next a Florentine, yet worse; thirdly, born of harlotry, that is, the Devil himself; and moreover had never relieved his memory of the sack of Rome. The Venetians were Venetians, sufficient in itself; but they had also grounds for revenge on the blood of Maximilian; and thus the dreadful league all went to pieces; and this belonged to the chapter Firmiter-credimus. But occasionally the gloomy forebodings of others cast a passing shadow on his own mind. His "lord Kate"

wrote him word that the Elbe had overflown its banks in a 1530.
season of continued drought, and prodigies and portents were related from all sides.

Augsburg was now filling fast with the members of the Diet. On Tuesday, the 17th May, the Archbishop of Cologne had made his entrance, and on the following day the Archbishop of Mentz; and a few days later the Elector of Saxony's firm ally, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, passed through the streets with 200 horsemen, all clad in green; and a waggon followed with his learned men and preachers. On the 27th May, Duke George of Saxony returned to Augsburg from Innspruck; and it was whispered that he was not altogether satisfied with all that he had seen and heard at the Imperial Court. These tidings put spurs to curiosity: and at last on the 19th June, Luther learnt from a traveller, who passed through Coburg fresh from the spectacle, that the Emperor had made his public entrance into Augsburg four days earlier. Charles quitted Innspruck on the 6th June, and arrived at Munich, the streets of which were gay with tapestry for the occasion, on the 10th; and early in the morning of the 15th imperial commissioners appeared in Augsburg, and apprised the princes that the Emperor would make his entrance into the city on that day, and that it was his pleasure that they should meet him a little beyond the city gates. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the afternoon the princes and deputies proceeded from the city as far as the little bridge spanning the precipitous current of the river Lech, and there on some rising ground awaited the arrival of the Emperor. The aspect of the road gave full indications that something extraordinary was going forward; horses and baggage trains, waggons and passengers on foot, officers of the Emperor's household, and strangers hastening to enjoy a novel spectacle, from an early hour in the morning, and some days

1530. previously, had been rolling amidst clouds of dust, to the sound of whip and horn, or slowly wending their steps into Augsburg. The princes, however, for some tedious hours looked in vain for signs that the Emperor himself was at hand. At last, towards eight o'clock, a large mass of dust moving on towards them, and presently the notes of music and the sound of voices, intimated his near approach. The princes, as soon as he could be recognised, dismounted their horses, and on their side, the Emperor and King Ferdinand leapt from their saddles, and greetings were interchanged with every demonstration of regard and cordiality. The Archbishop of Mentz addressed the Emperor in the name of the princes, and Frederick Count Palatine, in the absence of his brother, the Elector Louis, replied in behalf of Charles. Three only of the company had continued on horseback, the Legate Campegio, with the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishop of Trent, and when the addresses were closed, the apostolic Legate pronounced his benediction on the Emperor and princes, which the Romanists received on bent knees, whilst the Protestants, with studied indifference, remained standing. Charles, who rode a Spanish horse of the purest white, was now helped to his seat by the younger princes: the procession formed, and slowly advanced. The households of the electors in order, with the households of the dukes of Bavaria, who had forced their way before the Margrave George and his retinue, preceded the Emperor: and immediately before him rode the Elector of Saxony, bearing a naked sword as grand marshal of the Empire, with Joachim of Brandenburg on one side, and a representative of the Elector Palatine on the other. A rich damask canopy, red, white, and green, was borne over the Emperor's head by six of the principal citizens of Augsburg; the Elector of Mentz was on Charles' right hand, and the Elector of Cologne on his left: the Papists had desired a

different arrangement; but King Ferdinand and the Legate 1530.
were obliged to be content with bringing up the rear. The procession was preceded and closed by troops of soldiers both on horse and foot. The cannon roared from the ramparts, the bells pealed from the cathedral and churches, and kettle drum and trumpet mingled their welcome with the applause of the populace, who admired the stately form and dexterity in horsemanship of their youthful emperor, and his handsome countenance, in which amiability and gravity seemed equally blended. The procession moved on to the cathedral, at the doors of which the Bishop and the clergy were waiting in their white robes. During the chanting of the Te Deum, Charles was observed to be conversing in a low tone with the Archbishop of Mentz, and nodded once familiarly to Duke George; but when the Te Ergo Quæsumus began, rising from his seat and rejecting an embroidered gold cushion which was offered him, he knelt down on the bare stones, raising his hands to heaven. The whole crowd throughout the cathedral now fell upon their knees, with the exception of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave; and the Margrave George, although he had at first followed in the general movement, observing that his associates remained standing, rose from the ground and imitated their firmness. After the service the procession formed anew, and Charles was conducted to the Palatinate, the palace of the Bishop of Augsburg, which had been prepared for his reception.

Here he dismissed the other princes, for it was past ten o'clock: but made a sign to the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave, the Duke of Luneburg, and the Margrave George, to attend him into his private apartment. There, using Ferdinand as his mouthpiece, who communicated with the princes in German, and with the Emperor in French, Charles demanded of them to impose silence on their preachers, and

1530. to join in the procession of the body of Christ on the following day; but was met with a respectful but firm refusal to both these requests. The Landgrave urged, that their preachers proclaimed nothing "either new or bad, but simply the doctrines of Augustin, Hilary, and other early fathers of the Church." And when the Emperor still laboured to conquer their repugnance, the Margrave George, with great animation, exclaimed, "Rather than let the Word of God be taken from me, and deny my God, I would kneel down and have my head struck off." And suiting the action to the words, he struck his neck with his hand. The Emperor himself was moved, and replied with vivacity, "Not the head off, not the head off" (nicht kopf ab),—the only words which he was heard to utter in German. When, at the close of the interview, Ferdinand declared that "his Imperial Majesty could not brook their disobedience," the Landgrave answered that "his Majesty's conscience was not lord and master over their consciences." The princes were then dismissed, with the often repeated threat that they would call down upon them the Emperor's severest displeasure if they persisted in their obstinacy: and they were directed to reflect more maturely upon his Majesty's requests, and to report their answer in person early the next morning. After the princes had departed, Charles was so violently agitated by the resistance which had been shown to his authority, that he could obtain no rest; he paced up and down his apartment, and in the middle of the night despatched a messenger to the Elector of Saxony, desiring his immediate attendance. The Elector John, however, made his advanced age and the state of his health a plea for disregarding the summons, and replied that his Imperial Majesty should have the answer of the evangelical princes at the time which he had appointed.

At seven o'clock the following morning, the princes met in

private, and having unanimously agreed upon the reply to be 1530.
made to the Emperor, proceeded together to the Palatinate; but John Frederic attended in place of his father, the Elector, who alleged the infirmities of age in excuse of his absence. The Margrave George was their spokesman, and stated that they held it to be most objectionable that the bread only, without the cup, was carried in the procession of the host; but that, further than this, there was no scriptural authority whatever for exposing to view, or carrying about in procession, the sacramental elements. And on the other head of preaching, an equally direct negative was returned; and allusion was made to the lateness of the hour at which the Emperor had preferred his demands. After delivering the common answer, the Margrave George said a few words for himself personally. He briefly touched upon the services rendered by his father and himself to the House of Austria, and implored the Emperor not to credit the calumnies circulated against him by his enemies: "but," he continued, "the divine command is immutable, and at the risk of whatever suffering, even at the cost of my head, I must obey God rather than man." The Emperor, after awhile, changed his ground, and, laying aside the argument of authority, requested them to comply with his wishes, as a tribute of personal deference to himself; but here, too, the princes remained firm; and the audience having been protracted almost up to the very time when the procession was to commence, they were dismissed with the understanding that they would let the Emperor have a written statement of their views relative to the question of free preaching. The procession began about ten o'clock, the streets being lined with soldiers to keep off the crowd. The host was carried by the Archbishop of Mentz, with uncovered head, beneath a superb canopy. The Emperor himself immediately followed, his head bare, and a

1530. burning torch in his hand. But much as there was in such a spectacle to attract the curious, it was computed by lookers on, that not more than a hundred citizens of Augsburg were present. Charles himself returned to the Palatinate disappointed and incensed; not only the evangelical princes, but the inhabitants of his imperial city, recoiled from a superstitious ceremony, in which he himself bore the most prominent part. With a hurried and indignant step he paced his apartment, a prey to conflicting thoughts: and did violence to his own feelings in refraining from at once forwarding safe conducts to the Protestant Princes, with the command that they should depart from Augsburg without delay.

Luther, in his castle, received the tidings of the firmness and constancy of the princes with lively gratitude to God; and from the repeated accounts transmitted to him that the Emperor himself, and his secretary Alphonso Valdeso, were the best disposed of all the court towards the evangelical cause, felt the hope revive that Charles might yet be won over to the Gospel. "The Papists," said he, "rage and are terrible; but our Prince, endued with marvellous courage, confesses Christ boldly; so does the Margrave George: on the other hand, the Emperor's clemency is so incredible, that he must be provided with a good angel from God." The Coburg fortress had now been converted into a temple, for Luther felt that the battle was begun. Three hours at the least of every day, and those not such as could be most readily spared, but the most appropriate for study, were consecrated by him to prayer; and thus, while the conflict against Amalek was going on in the valley, says Mathesius, Moses himself remained on the hill, with his hands uplifted to Jehovah. Over his bed, and around the walls of the castle, Luther had written with his own hand some of his favourite texts, the constant sight of which gave fresh strength and steadfastness to

his faith, such as—"This just man cried, and the Lord heard 1530.
him"—"God is nigh unto all them that call upon him"—"Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee"—"I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." The words, "I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep, for thou Lord only makest me dwell in safety," afforded him such especial comfort, that in a letter to the celebrated Bavarian musician, Louis Senfel, he requested him to set them to music for him, and obtained from him this favour, and also chants to several other scriptural texts. Luther composed at this time a paper of Consolatory Reflections, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, in which he expresses his grateful joy that "the cause is not in our hands, but in God's;"—that "He who is in us, is greater than he that is in the world;" and that, "if we go to the ground, Christ himself must go with us;" that the trials of Christians under Maximian and Diocletian, and in the time of John Huss, in Germany itself, were far greater, and more full of peril, than the present trials; and that, with heartfelt sighing and Christian prayer, Christian people in many lands were imploring the succour of Almighty God. "You are furnishing arms to Satan against yourself," he wrote to Melancthon, whose timidity had already taken the alarm, and was every day gaining ground. "What can the devil do more than strangle us? Christ died once for sin; he now lives and reigns for justice and truth. What can harm the truth, if Christ is reigning? I find my own hopes better than I had hoped. If *we* are not worthy to be God's instruments in this work, He will provide himself with others. Cast all your care upon Him."

As had been promised, on the morning of the 17th, the reasons of the evangelical princes for declining assent to the Imperial command in regard to their preachers, were placed in the Emperor's hands. They were to the effect, that the

1530. evangelical preachers proclaimed the true gospel, in accordance with the decree of the Nuremberg Diet, as it had been understood by the ancient fathers of the Church; that they could not in their conscience forego this spiritual nourishment; that the discourses forbade all sedition and tumult, and were followed by prayers for the happy issue of the Diet. From the hour of noon the Emperor, Electors, and Prelates deliberated on this topic. And the next day it was proposed to the Lutheran Princes to settle the question by a compromise, viz.: that the preachers of both parties should for a time desist from their office, and none preach but such as had been nominated by the Emperor, who should carefully abstain from touching on anything that could give offence to either side. The evangelical divines declared in favour of this compromise: "It is as good as a promise," they said, "that the Emperor will hear our cause; we are called to confess our faith, not to preach—we are not the parish ministers of Augsburg." And the princes informed the Emperor of their acquiescence in the proposal, and the same evening the inhabitants and sojourners in Augsburg were apprised by proclamation of the Imperial decision. Expectation was on the qui vive to see "what sort of chimera or tragelaphus" the Emperor's nominees would prove; the congregations,* French, Spaniards, Italians, Æthiops, and Stratiots, intermingling with the Germans, stood in the churches the next morning with erect ear, but they heard neither Evangelical nor Papist, but "a textualist or scribe," who read off Scripture without adding a word of comment.

Another question now arose. On Monday, the 20th June, the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was to be performed in

* "Ibi videas hic Gallos, illic Hispanos, hic Æthiopes, illic etiam Æthiopissas, hic Italos, illic etiam Turcos, aut quos vocant Stratiotas," &c.—*Brentz' Letter to Isenmann.*

the cathedral. Would the Elector of Saxony, the Papists 1530.
inquired, in his capacity of grand marshal, bear the sword before the Emperor at this high ceremonial? The theologians, Luther among them, were consulted on the subject; and they agreed that the Elector might attend in the cathedral, provided he took no part in the service, in his simple capacity of grand marshal, just as Naaman the Syrian was permitted to hold his arm for his master to lean upon, when he worshipped in the house of his god Rimmon. Before the offertory, from a high stool in front of the high altar, Pimpinelli, Archbishop of Rossan, delivered a Latin oration of an hour's length, urging the assembled princes to unanimity against the Turk, and calling on St. Peter and St. Paul to use their keys and sword to exterminate heresy; and on the conclusion of the service, the Emperor and princes rode to the Town Hall, and the Diet was opened. It was the subject of querulous remark among the Protestants, that King Ferdinand took his seat on a very high throne opposite to the Emperor, arrayed in a gold robe, and wearing the crown of Hungary. Frederic Count Palatine, in a long speech, declared the Emperor's sentiments, both in reference to the Turkish war and the religious dissensions; after which the proposition was read by Alexander Schweitz, the imperial secretary, which, in its first article, spoke of the Turk; in the second, of the gravamina of the temporal rulers against the ecclesiastical, and of the ecclesiastical against the temporal; and in the third, of the necessity of removing religious divisions. The States, by the mouth of Joachim of Brandenburg, returned thanks to the Emperor, and requested permission to take copies of the proposition, with a view to deliberating on its contents. Three hours, accordingly, were allowed for the secretaries of the several princes and states to copy the proposition, which was read aloud by the secretary

1530. of the Cardinal of Mentz. It was agreed on both sides that the religious question, as underlying every other, should be first taken into consideration by the Diet; and on the 22nd the Emperor requested of the Elector of Saxony and his allies to be favoured, in the space of two days, with the sum of the opinions entertained by them in the matter of religion, the ecclesiastical abuses they complained of, and the remedies which they proposed to apply. On the 23rd the Protestants assembled in a private meeting, the deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen being present among the evangelical princes, and the Apology was read aloud, and unanimously approved of. The next day Campegio, the papal legate, about three o'clock in the afternoon exhibited his letters of credential, and then from the throne, which at the opening of the Diet had been occupied by King Ferdinand, delivered a speech of more than half an hour's length, exhorting the Emperor, Electors, and Princes, as members of the Roman Church, not to fall off from their allegiance to her, but to maintain steadfastly the faith of their ancestors. After the speech he left the Town Hall, and rode back to his lodging. Then deputies from Carynthia, Styria, and other provinces which had suffered grievously from the Ottoman inroads, appeared before the imperial throne, and implored succour for their countrymen. When these had retired, the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George, the two Dukes of Luneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, rose from their seats, and took their station in front of the throne, and by the mouth of Bruck petitioned with all submission, "that, inasmuch as all the new sects, heresies, and errors," which had arisen in the sacred German empire, were imputed to them as the occasion and source, his Majesty would be pleased to hear the articles of faith which were held by them, and were preached in their dominions. Charles requested, in reply, that the document might be given into

his own hands, in order that he might read it over with his council, and grant them a gracious answer. Bruck persisted in the entreaty that his Majesty would be pleased to hear it publicly read. The Emperor consulted with his brother, and the Electors and Princes, and by the mouth of Count Nuenar replied that the document must not be read publicly in the Diet, but he consented to hear it read in the Palatinate, in the presence of the Electors and Princes; and he appointed the next day for the reading. 1530.

The next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor, King Ferdinand, the Electors and Princes were assembled in the chapel of the Palatinate, which was capable of holding about 200 persons, to hear the declaration of the articles of the evangelical faith. John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick, Duke of Saxony; Francis, Duke of Luneburg; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, advanced in front of Charles' throne, the old chancellor Bruck holding in his hand the Latin version of the Apology, and the other chancellor, Christian Beyer, the German version. "Read it," the Emperor said, "in Latin." John the Constant coming forward, said, "We stand on German ground, and we trust your Majesty will permit us to use the German tongue." Charles signified his assent, and Beyer read the "Augsburg Confession" in German, in a voice so firm and distinct that his words could be intelligibly heard as far as the lower gate of the court-yard. The reading exceeded two hours in length; and when it was finished, Chancellor Bruck delivered both the copies to the imperial secretary. The Emperor roused himself from the nap in which he had indulged during the reading, and took into his own hand the Latin version, and courteously dismissing the evangelical princes, assured them Saturday, June 25.

1530. that he and his council would give the matter due deliberation; but he insisted that the Apology should not be made public.

The Protestants returned to their lodgings full of thankfulness to God that so far their cause had been triumphant. Accounts of all that had passed were transmitted to Coburg, and Luther replied with the most cordial assurances of his joy. "It delights me," he wrote, "to have lived to the present hour, when our Lord Christ has been proclaimed publicly by an army of confessors. The evangelical preaching was prohibited, and the scriptural confession has preached Christ with more power than any ten preachers. We see, as Paul said, that God's Word cannot be bound. Forbidden in the pulpit, it is proclaimed in the palace. If all else should be silent, the stones would cry out." Luther's delight overflowed in expressions of gratitude towards the Emperor personally, of whose courteous bearing he was informed by Melancthon: "He is an excellent youth, worthy of the love of God and men." And it was very soon evident that the Confession was yielding happy fruit, both in confirming the Lutherans, and drawing over many of the Romanist party to the side of truth. The Count of Nassau, who had before shown symptoms of indecision, now declared himself a convert to the evangelical faith. The Archbishop of Cologne, it was also known, gave his approval to the Lutheran tenets. The Bishop of Augsburg spoke of the Apology as "the truth, the pure truth:" and a Spanish monk, confessor to the Court, maintained that the doctrine of "justification by faith alone" had always been the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Even the legate Campegio, who took care to be absent from the reading, but had the document submitted to him for examination by the Emperor, pronounced that "the differences were chiefly verbal; the great point was to prevent further discussion." "All that they say," observed the Archbishop of Salz-

burg, who had been peculiarly bitter in his reproaches against 1530.
Melancthon and the other Reformers, "is right enough. The mass ought to be reformed: liberty as to feast days and fast days ought to be conceded, and the yoke of human ordinances to be removed: but that a miserable monk should be the Reformer—*that* is intolerable." And it was a subject of congratulation among the Lutherans, at the same time, that their confession had been kept free from any Zwinglian tincture, that Philip of Hesse, who had acknowledged to Urban Regius that he inclined to Zwingle's view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and who had been engaged while at Augsburg in a correspondence with Melancthon and Brentz on his old subject of a general Protestant alliance, had nevertheless finally taken his post by the side of the Elector and the Margrave George, and, though he still said "he was not quite satisfied about the Sacrament," would scarcely recede from a faith to which his signature was now annexed.

It was, of course, absolutely necessary that an answer should be written to the Apology. Most of the Romanist Princes had brought their learned men with them to the Diet. "Some," Jonas said, "have brought their ignoramuses; for Cochlæus, Usingen, Wimpina, and Mensingen are here." Faber and Eck, however, were really possessed of learning, although their ability scarcely rose to second-rate; and it was felt by the Romanists themselves that it was beyond the power of their learned men to produce anything that could in the least match the clearness and terseness of the Apology. Erasmus, indeed, had been invited to Augsburg, both by the Papists and by Melancthon, but he saw the wisdom of staying away, and pleaded his feeble health as a sufficient reason for keeping quietly at Basle. "Ten councils," he replied to Melancthon, "could not unravel the deep plot of your tragedy, much less could I. If any one starts a propo-

1530. sition that has common sense on its side, it is at once set down as Lutheranism." To the Romanist invitations he replied with his stereotyped abuses of the Lutherans. However, something must be done; and the Romanist Doctors, twenty-four in number, were formed into a committee, with Eck at their head, to take the Apology into consideration, and draw up a confutation. Their first attempt was not successful: it spread to the length of 280 pages; but was vapid in proportion to its bulk, breathed blood and cruelty, and was sent back by the princes to the committee to be retrenched and improved. Meanwhile, Charles was refreshing himself after the fatigues of opening the Diet, with sports and recreations. On the morning of Monday, the 27th June, he received in front of the town-hall the homage of his good citizens of Augsburg: and afterwards he and Ferdinand, and several of the lords spiritual and temporal, rode out for a day's hunt in the neighbourhood, and in the evening "the two Queens of Hungary and Bohemia, Mary and Anna," joined the royal hunting party, and the night was spent at the Castle of Wellenburg. Moreover, the Augsburg citizens employed their best efforts to afford diversion to his Imperial Majesty with the pageantry and mysteries in fashion in that age. On one occasion, when the Emperor and his Court were seated at table, a man in the garb of a doctor entered, bearing in his arms a number of straight and crooked sticks, which he laid on the hearth; and withdrawing as soon as this was done, showed upon his back Reuchlin, inscribed in large letters. Then another entered, also in the habit of a doctor, who walked to the hearth, and busied himself for some time in adjusting the straight and crooked sticks, but all to no purpose, and retired with a sardonic laugh on his countenance. Erasmus was the name on his back. Next entered a friar, wearing the Augustinian frock and cowl, with a chafing-dish

full of live coals; he raked the sticks together, threw the 1530.
coals among them, and blowing the flame, quickly raised a blazing fire. An Emperor next rushed in, who in his impatience to extinguish the flame, thrust his sword into the fire, and thereby made it burn the faster. The Pope followed, with Peter's keys suspended from his girdle, and the triple crown on his head, and seizing a bottle of water with one hand, and of oil with the other, and hurrying to the hearth, threw the oil on the fire instead of the water, and made the flame burn so fiercely that he was obliged to retreat with all speed from its fury. Charles made inquiries whose ingenuity had devised the comedy, but the author could not be discovered.

But the conduct of the Emperor towards the Protestants had now undergone a manifest change. At first he was so condescending that Melancthon was full of complaints to Luther of the ill requital made by the evangelical princes to so much complacency, and requested a letter from Coburg to John Frederic in inculcation of gentle and more humble deportment. But not only was the imperial visage clouded: every kind of rumour and mode of threat, studied neglect, and direct opposition, were brought into play to shake the steadfastness of the Elector John. The Emperor never spoke to, or noticed him: his wishes and interests were always disregarded: and Charles would not even accede to his request to grant him infeudation, or confirm the marriage articles between his son and Sibylla of Cleves. And so much did all this work upon the Elector, that in his dreams he used to conceive himself buried under a high mountain, at the top of which stood his cousin Duke George: but after he had been harassed by this dream several consecutive nights, at last he dreamed that he saw Duke George roll from the summit of the mountain, and lie dashed to pieces at his feet. None, how-

1530. ever, of the evangelical party felt the difficulties of their situation so sensitively as the timid Melancthon. "The monks," he wrote to Luther, "are every day inflaming the Emperor's hate against us; the bishops detest us cruelly; our friends forsake us; we are here alone and desolate, tossed by innumerable perils." "Very few are on our side," wrote Spalatin, "all are Papists or Sacramentarians." It was just that crisis in which Luther's faith was peculiarly called upon to impart some of its own confidence to the drooping hearts of his friends. "I was lately looking out of my window," he wrote to Bruck, "when I beheld two wonders: there were the stars of heaven, and all God's bright firmament; but I could discern no walls on which the Master had based such a firmament: yet the heaven does not fall in, and the firmament stands quite fast. Now, there are some who are seeking and groping about to find where the walls are. The other wonder was, that I beheld a great dense cloud float over us—such a mass! as though it were a mighty sea; but I could not descry any pavement on which it rested, or coffer in which it was inclosed: yet it did not fall on our heads, but greeting us with a black frown passed on. When it had passed, a rainbow appeared, but a weak, dim, subtle bow, which soon vanished into the clouds. Now, there are some who think more of the dense cloud and the mass of waters, than of the slender and dim rainbow, and are in terror lest the clouds should pour down an eternal deluge." "Be confident," Luther wrote to the Elector John, "Christ is with you, and will in turn own you as his father, as you have confessed him before this wicked generation;" and he recommended him to study the 37th Psalm, as an excellent antidote against the wiles of Satan. The Elector John heartily reciprocated such counsel: he had too much of Luther's own faith to recoil from danger: Bruck and the theologians were also

convinced that Luther was right in his unwavering trust in 1530.
God; Melancthon alone continued to be agitated with every kind of doubt and apprehension. "What is the meaning," Luther wrote to him, "of fearing, trembling, caring, and sorrowing? Will He not be with us in this world's trifles, who has given us his own Son? In private troubles I am weak, and you are strong: if, at least, I can call private the conflicts I have with Satan; but in public trials I am what you are in private. The cause is just and true; it is Christ's cause. Miserable saintling as I am! I may well turn pale and tremble for myself; but I can never fear for the cause." "Our cause is deposited in a common place not to be found in your book, Philip; that common place is faith." "I pray, have prayed, and shall pray for thee, Philip," he wrote in another letter, "and I have felt the Amen in my heart." "Our Lord Christ," he wrote to Jonas, "is King of kings, and Lord of lords. If he disown the title at Augsburg, he must disown it in heaven and earth. Amen."

"The constancy of 'our dearest father,' Veit Dietrich wrote to Melancthon, "his cheerfulness, faith, and hope are wonderful: it is because he studies God's Word so diligently. I have once heard him praying, communing with God as a father and friend, and reminding him of his own promises from the Psalms, which he was certain would be made good. 'I know, O God, thou art our dear God and Father: therefore am I certain that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy Church. If thou dost not destroy them, thou art in like danger with us. It is thy own cause. The enemies of the cross of Christ assault us: it appertains to thee and the honour of thy name to protect thy confessors at Augsburg. Thou hast promised; thou wilt do it; for thou hast done it from the beginning. Let thine help shine forth in this extremity.'" Luther's prayer was the struggling of a wrestler

1530. in the gripe of conflict: sighs and tears escaped him; he groaned and cried aloud, and often rose from his knees overcome by the vehemence of his supplications: and for some time afterwards "his head was very weak" from the fervour of his soul.

There was a wide divergency between his views and those of Melancthon as to the results to be desired from the deliberations of the Diet. Melancthon hoped for concord, and even union, with the Papists, and with this object had restricted the evangelical ultimatum to three points: the Communion in both kinds, liberty to priests and monks to marry, and the Reformation of the Mass. He had conferences with Valdeso, the Spanish secretary to the Emperor, and with Campegio; and if sometimes he was cast down with the perils of the situation and the weight of his own responsibilities, at other times he wrote encouraging accounts of the affability of the secretary and cardinal, and the fair promises which they held out. Luther, with far more insight into human nature, smiled at Philip's credulity, and answered, "I would not believe any Italian in a single *My*." The Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and "the Clown," Melancthon represented as full of rage and sanguinary counsels; but the Emperor's sister was labouring to pacify her brother, the Archbishop of Mentz was favourable to peace, and the Legate was extremely courteous. Philip was miserably mistaken as to the last; for it is now ascertained that Campegio was one of those who most zealously admonished the Emperor to "root out the noxious plant of heresy with fire and sword." On the 9th July the evangelical Princes were summoned into the imperial presence; and it was demanded, first, whether they had touched on all the controverted points in their Apology, and were ready to abide in all respects by that document; and secondly, whether they were willing to

accept the Emperor as judge. The answer to the first question was returned two days later, that "the Apology had confined itself to essentials,—such errors and abuses as had proved a burden to the conscience." In reference to the second the Elector of Saxony consulted Luther, who replied, "that no verdict against Scripture could be admitted: to believe a doctrine on any ground saving that of Holy Writ would be the same as to be a Christian without Christ, a lord without land, rich without money, or learned without knowledge." Luther was beginning to be more and more discontented with the long continuance of the Diet, and with Melancthon's fits of melancholy, and alternate hopes and fears. "As for concord," said he, "I have never prayed God for it; it is an impossibility: 'What concord hath Christ with Belial?'" All he desired was religious toleration, or, as he termed it, political peace. "May God scatter the nations that delight in war." And by exhibiting the confession of their faith, he regarded the evangelical princes as having discharged their duty to the full. "You have now," he wrote, "done enough: you have confessed Christ in the Assembly of Masks; would that I had myself shared such an honour. I absolve you in the name of the Lord from the Diet. Home! Home!" 1530.

Melancthon, at one time depressed, at another elated, was recounting to Luther the various publications, new or reprinted, with which the Romanist doctors were filling Augsburg, and which they were offering to the Emperor to inflame his resentment against the Lutherans. Then, on some fresh pretext, the Protestant princes were summoned before Charles, and threats and promises alternately tried to shake their firmness. The Augsburg citizens had succumbed to the influences of various kinds brought to bear on them; and their preacher, Urban Regius, offended by the little value they set on the Gospel, had engaged to accompany the Duke

1530. of Luneburg, to superintend the Churches in his Duchy, as soon as he should leave the Diet. On the other hand, the Confession had been forwarded to Rome, and the Papal reply had not yet arrived; and in the meantime Campegio still smiled, and Valdeso was as friendly as ever. Supposing concord should be attainable, Melancthon's mind was put to the rack to determine what conclusions could be assented to by the evangelicals, on the subject of traditions; and he was of opinion, that for the sake of good order it might be conceded that none but an ordained priest should administer the sacrament; that the order of prayers in the Mass should be retained, &c.; that fast days and feast days might be allowed, as a bodily discipline; that as the Encænia was instituted by the Maccabees to testify gratitude to God, so ordinances appointed with the same object by bishops might be acquiesced in — bishops being "of authority by human right." Luther stated that "the first point was to be agreed on the principles of the Christian faith; when that agreement had been accomplished, it would be time enough to look further; and for his own part he could endure any outward restriction that his conscience would permit, but to load his conscience his Christ would not suffer it." * Then the subject of the mass was more attentively considered, and the Romanists endeavoured to give a specious colouring to the most objectionable of their practices, by representing the private mass as merely an eucharistical worship. Melancthon was debating the question on learned grounds; but Luther, with his practical good sense, at once tore the flimsiness of such an argument to tatters. "It is not enough," he wrote, "that the intention of any practice be presumed good; the

* See Bedenken. De Wette, IV., p. 95. Cœlestin regards the paper as a reply to questions proposed by the queens Anne and Mary; but there seems no ground for such a supposition.

only question is, 'Is there the Word of God for it?' A man 1530.
may be a monk, as an eucharistical worship, or anything whatever may be justified by such a pretence. The only place for a thief is the gallows."

In July Bucer and Capito came to Augsburg with the confession of the four cities, Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, which was presented to the Emperor. A separate confession of faith was also delivered in by the city of Ulm; and Zwingle forwarded his own private confession of faith to the Diet, which, in the judgment of the Lutherans, revived his old heresies on human depravity, and the use of the sacraments. It was not until the 3rd August that the Confutation was at last read, in the chapel of the Palatinate, in the German version. It was read as the authoritative decision of the religious questions; and before the reading, the Emperor declared that he should firmly abide by the sentiments contained in it, and that if any of the princes persevered in contrary tenets, as defender of the faith he would no longer brook such schism: and with these words he composed himself for a sound nap. After the reading, the votes of the Diet were called for, and a considerable majority signified their approval of the Confutation. The Emperor then turning to the Protestant princes demanded that they too should concur in the decision of the majority, and give in their adhesion to the doctrines comprised in the document which they had just heard read. The Lutherans, in reply, requested that a copy of the Confutation might be given into their hands. The Romanists demurred to this request; it seemed to them decisive that the majority had declared their verdict, and that, therefore, further argument or difference of opinion was not to be allowed. But, on being hard pressed to grant a copy, they at length consented, on the condition that it should not be seen by any one except the evangelical princes,

1530. deputies, and theologians, then present, themselves, and after perusal should be returned to the Emperor. The Protestants declined to accept a copy under such restrictions; and the Emperor stated that he required time for deliberation, before he could accord them the favour they sought on any other terms. Two days later Charles again summoned the Protestants into his presence, and renewed his command that they would accept the Confutation; as to the copy, the reluctance he felt to grant it arose, he said, from apprehension that it would be published or transcribed. This led to altercations, which were protracted until eight o'clock in the evening, when the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, and Henry of Brunswick, approaching the Protestant princes implored them to relinquish the dispute, and to avoid irritating the Emperor any further, for they had hopes of offering them such proposals as would have the effect of terminating all variances. A private conference followed; but the mode of terminating variances, which the Romanists resorted to, was rather to menace than to conciliate; so that Philip of Hesse, whose hot temper had long been chafing at the conduct pursued by the Emperor and his court towards the Protestants, having previously applied to Charles for leave of departure without success, effected his escape on the night of the 6th August with great wariness, by a secret postern, from Augsburg, and departed home, leaving his excuses in a letter to the Elector John, viz., the ill state of his wife's health, and the facility with which the remaining business could be conducted by his chancellor. That very same night the Emperor posted guards of soldiers at all the city gates, anticipating, it would appear, the Landgrave's intentions, who had requested an audience, and received the reply that his Majesty could not see him until the Sunday following. Philip, however, had made his escape in the dusk before the gates were shut,

with only five or six attendants, and having assumed a dis- 1530.
guise to avoid being recognized.

Early on Sunday morning the Protestant princes were Aug. 7.
called into the Chapter House, where they found George Truchsess, Duke George of Saxony, Henry of Brunswick, the Bishops of Augsburg, Salzburg, and Spires, and many more, who addressed them on the necessity of religious union, in failure of which, "bloodshed and destruction of land and people, oppression of subjects, dangers and injuries of all kinds" would inevitably light upon the unhappy German nation. The Protestant Princes, on their side, expressed their willingness to lend their heartiest efforts towards an accommodation consistently with the dictates of their consciences. But at midday the evangelical Princes were summoned to appear before the Emperor himself, who had now heard of the flight of the Landgrave, and was the more vexed and irritated that the measures he had taken to prevent such a movement had been forestalled. The Princes alleged in their behalf, that the Landgrave's departure had been without their knowledge, and did not meet with their approbation, but that it must have been occasioned by weighty reasons: and for themselves, that they were ready to co-operate with all their power for "a just, profitable, and good termination of the Diet." But they complained of sentinels being posted at the city gates; and begged that in consideration of the heavy cost which the long continuation of the Diet had involved, his Imperial Majesty would expedite matters as far as he could. The Emperor replied, that the guards had been placed at the gates to repress disorders in the city, a Spanish soldier having lately been killed in an uproar; and he dismissed the Princes with more than ordinary courtesy. The Protestants found that the decided conduct of the Landgrave had made the Romanists less haughty and more tractable.

1530. On Saturday the 13th August, it was decided that seven delegates should be appointed by either side, two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians, to whom the task should be committed of recombining Lutherans and Papists into one church. The delegates appointed on the Papist side were Henry of Brunswick, and the Bishop of Augsburg, the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, Eck, Mensingen, and Cochlæus; on the Protestant, the Margrave George, and John Frederic, Bruck and Heller, Melancthon, Brentz, and Snepf. The demands of the Evangelicals were simply stated: that Rome should allow them to preach the same doctrines as they had hitherto preached; should concede the communion in both kinds, the reformation of the Mass, and the marriage of priests and monks; and they, on their part, were prepared to yield jurisdiction to the bishops, and submit to traditions and ceremonies as far as their consciences would permit. On Tuesday the 16th matters were proceeding very smoothly, and a reconciliation was effected on ten articles of the Lutheran Confession: but on the 18th Henry of Brunswick quitted Augsburg, being sent by Charles to watch the proceedings of the Landgrave, whose warlike tendencies were, not unnaturally, a subject of apprehension; and Duke George of Saxony was substituted as delegate in his place. The Protestants did not like the change; although Brentz states, that in some points the Duke very decidedly snubbed Dr. Eck. Melancthon on one side and Eck on the other were the principal speakers, and Spalatin was the secretary. But on the 22nd the Conference ended; for although, on many points, agreement had been attained, there remained a difference of opinion on fourteen articles. The Romanists would not allow that justification is by faith alone; that our good works do not earn grace; that it is not necessary to make special enumeration of sins in confession; that to repentance faith is neces-

sary as well as contrition, and satisfaction on our part is not 1530.
requisite; that the Sacraments are ineffectual without faith; that for church-union all that is essential is doctrinal harmony; that human ordinances and vows, if supposed to earn grace, are diametrically opposed to the Gospel; that men's ordinances are only to be kept in a spirit of love, to avoid divisions; that there is but one Mediator; that it is unscriptural to forbid communion in both kinds, and the marriage of priests and monks; and that the Mass is not a good work to earn grace but must be received in faith, and through faith, not *ex opere operato,* grace is increased in it.

No one was more deeply grieved than Melancthon that the conference should have proved fruitless: he was haunted by the apprehension of war and bloodshed as inevitable, if the breach were not closed; and letters from Erasmus, which spoke of the Diet as "the prelude of a fearful drama," confirmed him in this idea. He generally suffered much from wakefulness in the few hours of the night which he allotted to rest, but during this period he could obtain scarce any sleep at all; and his anxiety and want of repose had brought on a dreadful cough, which shook his slender frame convulsively, as though it would tear it in pieces. His terror of war had even led him to acquiesce in the government of the Pope over evangelical Christians, which he compared to the dominion of Pharaoh over the Israelites in Egypt; a stretch of concessional amiability which excited the surprise of Bruck, who inquired "How then can we aver that the Pope is Antichrist?" There cannot, indeed, be a doubt that the true cause of the attempts at reconciliation proving abortive must be laid at the door, rather of the Papists than of the Protestants: letters had arrived from Rome declaring the Pontiff's positive refusal even to vouchsafe that minimum of concessions which the Lutherans had demanded, not out of

1530. regard to abstract truth, but in simple deference to their own consciences, in their anxiety to heal divisions and preserve peace: and hence the conference terminated as it did. Thus the Pope is himself the author of that schism which has rent western Christendom in two; first, by his Bull excommunicating Luther, and, secondly, by his refusal, in the conference at Augsburg, to come to any terms with Melancthon and the evangelical Church at all compatible with the doctrines of Scripture. But it is no less certain that the Pope's decision in this respect was really overruled by God to the safety of the Reformation: and Roselli and the Protestants of Italy, and the numerous Protestants of Germany, who had implored that the truth should not be sacrificed from want of trust in God, "who would not fail them in temporal things if they continued to cleave to Him in spiritual," were as much rejoiced at this issue, as Melancthon was dismayed by it.

The Papists were now resolved to see whether the Lutherans would not succumb entirely. The delegates were reduced to three in number on either side; Bruck, Heller, and Melancthon, against Dr. Eck, and the Chancellors of Cologne and Baden: and on the 24th August negotiations were resumed. But, meanwhile, many of the Protestants had vehemently denounced the timid concessions of Melancthon, which were frittering away the Gospel; the deputies of Nuremberg repudiated Episcopal jurisdiction: Philip of Hesse wrote to his representatives not to recede a hair-breadth from the truth, and that the bishops were in doctrine and life such as Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate; and his theologian Snepf asserted that "bishops ought to be shunned like wolves." Even John Frederic took part against Melancthon; who on his side complained in private, that a fatal blindness was cast upon Germany, and few had a love of peace. The Papists spread

their snares artfully; they represented that they were quite 1530.
willing to concede the cup to the laity, provided the Lutherans would allow that the contrary practice was not against the institution of Christ; and Eck suggested that an agreement should be arrived at upon as many articles as possible, and the rest be referred to a Council. But on the 30th August the Commission ceased their sittings: the Romanists would not surrender satisfaction as a part of repentance, or the meritoriousness of good works; above all, the mass presented difficulties that were insurmountable. However, the Papists did not even thus resign every hope. Henry of Brunswick, and a prelate and councillor of the Emperor, supped with the Elector of Saxony the very evening that the efforts of the Commission of Six had failed, and threw out many hints, in the course of conversation, about fresh attempts at reconciliation. The Protestants, however, had had enough of negotiation. Luther and Philip of Hesse were for once of the same mind, and both reiterated their conviction that the Papists were "only duping them with lies and deceit."

The Elector of Saxony and the Margrave George now requested permission of the Emperor to leave Augsburg, and Charles was forced to play his last card. Several Diets had held out the promise of a Council: Charles himself had treated on the subject with the Pope at Bologna, he had rediscussed it in letters from Augsburg, and although he knew that Clement VII. was decidedly opposed to summoning a Council on personal grounds, both as a bastard and as having reached St. Peter's chair by simoniacal means, which made it possible that a Council might deal with him as the Council of Constance had dealt with John XXIII., yet Charles felt that the Pope was very much at his mercy. Accordingly the Protestant Princes, on the 7th September, many threats having been played off upon them in the interval, were sum-

1530. moned into the Imperial presence, and the promise was made them that his Majesty would demand of his Holiness to convene a Council, if in the mean time they would return to the bosom of the Church. They requested time to deliberate, and the following day returned their answer, which was to the effect that they "had never seceded from the Church," that they were no new sect, but the Papists were the innovators, and that a Council had been already decreed by the last Diet of Spires. Late in the evening the Protestants were again summoned to the Palatinate, and were warned by Count Truchsess to reconsider their answer. The Emperor had diligently read their Confession, and found that it differed materially from the Catholic doctrine. They were to reflect how few they were, and to give their consent to further negotiations, or the Emperor "would know what course to adopt." At the expiration of two days, the Protestant Princes gave their answer in a most respectful tone, to the effect that from the paramount obligation of God's Word it was impossible that they could make any farther concession; that all they implored was political peace until the meeting of the Council, about which they were well disposed to treat. The Romanists were boiling with rage; and Charles himself in his indignation proposed to force the Lutherans to return to the old religion, and either restore the ecclesiastical property, or deliver it into his keeping as sequestrator, till the determination of the Council should be given. Riot and consternation reigned in the streets of Augsburg, and swords were drawn in the tumult. The Elector of Saxony now renewed the demand for permission to quit the city, and on the 12th September his son, John Frederic, abruptly took his departure.

But even so, the Papists were most reluctant to see the prey escape from their grasp. They approached Melancthon, and

proposed that trial should be made of a private discussion, 1530.
to avoid even yet the impending horrors of war. Jerome Wehe, Chancellor of Baden, and Count Truchsess, met Bruck and Melancthon at six in the morning in the church of St. Maurice. The old topics were rehandled, and some ill-fangled concord was suggested until the settlement of doctrinal and ceremonial differences by the Council. But the Protestants were no longer in the mood to make concessions, and Melancthon himself had so far isolated himself from his party that his name was used as a sign of contempt or distrust. It was said that an advocate, hired by Clement VII. himself, could not have pleaded the Papist cause with more zeal; he was compared to Ahithophel or Erasmus: his friend Camerarius heard nothing at Nuremberg, "the eye and ear of Germany," as Luther termed it, but abuses of his dear Philip, and his character seemed to his co-religionists very feebly retrieved by the Apology for the Confession which he drew up a few days later, and which exhibited in every line characteristic traits of his singular ability.

Luther, on the other hand, had revived in popular estimation the glories of his early stand for the Gospel at Worms. His private correspondence circulated on all sides: copies were sent by Brentz to the citizens of Halle, that they might see "what an incomparable man Luther was!" Some of his correspondence even fell into the hands of the Papists, by whom it was immediately sent to the press, and a laugh was raised at the terms in which Philip's timidity was spoken of. His tracts were sold in front of the hotel of the Saxon Elector: his Admonition to the Ecclesiastics was read to the members of the Diet by the Bishop of Augsburg: and whilst the Papists were ransacking his books to find "contradictions" and "heresies," he sent them a list of doctrines which he was "ready to maintain against the whole synagogue of Satan."

1530. "Remember," he wrote to the Elector on the 26th August, "that the very principle of our faith is, that what God's Word has determined can never be a matter of indifference. Communion, therefore, in one or both kinds, cannot be indifferent. Can the Romanists themselves hold anything indifferent for which they burn, banish, persecute, and anathematize? If we allow private masses we must give up the whole Gospel; for if we concede one human fiction, why not another, or why not all? It is not in our power to adopt ceremonies, garments, gestures, fasts, feasts, which, without God's Word, are made a part of God's service." "You have begun," he wrote the same day to Spalatin, "a wonderful work to make the Pope and Luther agree; the Pope had rather not, and Luther deprecates it. If, against the will of both, you succeed in your purpose, I will undertake to reconcile Christ and Belial." "You write me word," he said to Melancthon, "that Eck allows that we are justified by faith. Can you go one step farther, and persuade Eck not to be a liar? In the Church of God, and in the worship of God, we will not ordain or permit anything save what can be defended by the Word of God; and beyond measure do I abhor that sacrilegious word 'indifferent.' They call themselves 'the Church;' the Word of God is more than the Church. I know that in your concessions you always make express reservation of the Gospel; but beware of their treachery. Their intention is to accept your concessions in a sense very large, more large, most large; to interpret their own in a sense very rigid, more rigid, most rigid. All their offers are deceit and lies. The only possible mode of concord is for the Pope to resign his papacy." "Believe me," he wrote to Jonas, "if I am any part of Christ, that Campegio is a great and pre-eminent devil. I am greatly moved by your concessions, by which you suffer demons to sport and mock at our cross.

The devil would be a lion if he could; if not, he will be a 1530.
serpent." In a letter of the 28th August to Spalatin, he stated that he should have something to say to any pretended harmony with Rome. "If you yield anything against the Gospel, and put the eagle in a sack, doubt it not, Luther will come, will come, and release the eagle gloriously. As sure as Christ lives, so shall it be." But it was his consolation, that "if the theologians were snoring to their own shame, Christ was awake to his own glory."

He was consulted by an inquirer, probably the widowed Queen Mary of Bohemia, what a Christian's duty would be, in the event of the cup being refused in the sacrament, or communion in both kinds being proscribed by the magistrates. "If," Luther replied, "there is a firm conviction that the sacrament ought to be partaken of in both kinds, it is far better to abstain from receiving it, and to feed on Christ spiritually, confirming the conscience by his Word, and meditating on his passion, than to disobey the Word of God. Nor can the most severe mandate of the magistrate, the dread of punishment, or the plea of obedience to the civil power as divinely enjoined, justify disobedience to the revealed Word. The creature must always be postponed to the Creator."

The whole time that the Diet continued, Luther was labouring under bodily infirmity as much, or more, than Melancthon: he suffered a great deal from constant singing in the head;* so that he said, "the winds that beat on the tower

* John Mannlius relates that "by three torches flashing before his eyes in the night, Luther was convinced that one of his swooning fits was near. He therefore called his servant, and made him drop almond oil into his ear, and oil of nutmeg, and rub his feet with warm cloths; after which he desired him to read the Epistle to the Galatians to him, and during the reading he fell asleep. These preventives suc-

1530. were all in his head." Then he complains of violent toothache; and he had an attack of the gravel, which he attributed to the Coburg wine; but his first seizure with this disease, from which he afterwards suffered so much, had been in the summer of 1526. His words, however, were never more cheerful. He had procured for his "Emperor Kate" some oranges, her favourite fruit, from Nuremberg; and he wrote, on the 15th August, that on that day the singing in his head had left him, and notwithstanding the wetness of the summer, he was enjoying some ripe grapes. His various infirmities, which pointed out to him old age as near at hand, and made him fix on the spot in which he should wish his remains to rest—"in the chapel under the cross"—rendered the tedium of his confinement more irksome, and he renewed his solicitations to his friends to hasten home. "Would that you would return, even under the ban of Pope and Emperor, for there is one greater than Pope and Emperor." He had approved of the flight of the Landgrave; and with much joy, on the 15th September, in a letter to Melancthon, he communicated the intelligence of John Frederic's arrival at Coburg, "a sudden guest," the day before. The Prince "had offered to take him home in his train, but he had refused, wishing to see Philip and his other friends, and wipe off their sweat on their exit from the bath." "The Prince," Luther relates, "gave me a gold ring; but it was never intended that I should wear gold; for soon after I had put it on my finger it fell off, being too large. I exclaimed, 'I am a worm, and no man.' It ought to have been given to Faber or Eck: lead or a rope would suit me better." "Be like Lot in Sodom," he goes on to urge Melancthon, "and leave God to work now. You have all of you done

ceeded; and Luther said, 'Come, let us, in contempt of Satan, sing the De Profundis with four voices.'"—Keil. III., p. 6.

enough. You have confessed Christ, offered peace, obeyed 1530.
the Emperor, borne injuries, been saturated with blasphemies, returned good for evil; in fine, God's saintly work you have handled as becometh saints. I will canonize you as faithful members of Christ: what glory can you want greater than that?" But after this letter the final negotiation with Wehe and Truchsess was reported to Luther by Link and others, with severe reproaches on Melancthon's pusillanimity. Luther forwarded these letters—"thunders and lightnings," as he called them—at once to Melancthon, and stated in what way he had replied to them. But to Jonas he wrote without any restraint: "I will brook no concessions, although an angel from heaven should command them. Our adversaries have no idea of yielding themselves: *We* are to yield the canon, the mass, one kind, celibacy, and a jurisdiction unheard of before, and to confess that they did right in murdering us. To surrender a single point is to deny the whole Gospel. It is well to keep peace in view, but the Author and Arbiter of peace and war is more than peace. I pray you leave off negotiating, and return."

Some days before this letter reached Augsburg, the Elector's resolution to return home had been formed; but he had been prevented from doing so on the 17th September, by Henry of Brunswick entering his apartment in the night, and requesting him to wait upon the Emperor in the morning, between seven and eight o'clock; when Charles implored him to remain two, four, or six days longer. But four days later, every arrangement had been made again for the journey home, and the baggage and cooks had been sent on before, when an express message from Charles requested a few days' further postponement. On the 22nd, late in the evening, after candles had been lighted, the Emperor convened the

1530. evangelical princes in the Palatinate, and had the project of the Recess read to them; it was a muffled sound of the Recess which fulminated its terrors afterwards, which even in this suppressed form breathed war and tyranny. In addition to the deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, the deputies of four other cities, Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg now appeared in the Protestant ranks, having added their signatures to the Augsburg Confession. Up to the very last, however, space was left open for fresh negotiation, for a paper was privately slipped into the hands of the Protestants, conveying the assurance that if a prolongation of the term, on the expiry of which the Recess was to take effect, which had been fixed for the 15th April next, should be desired, the Emperor would not prove inexorable. After the reading of the project Bruck stepped forward, and having stated, in reply to the assertion that the Confession had been refuted from Scripture, that the Confession was "grounded in the Word of God, the godly truth, which they should stand to at the last judgment," offered the Apology for the Confession. The Count Palatine took it into his hands, but the Emperor refused to receive it, and returned it to Bruck. The next morning the Protestants held a private meeting in the hotel of the Margrave George; when the project of the Recess was again read, and it was unanimously agreed that it was impossible to accede to it. It now only remained to notify their rejection of the project, pay a farewell visit of respect to the Emperor, and hasten away from Augsburg. Accordingly, with the exception of the Elector John, who refreshed himself at his hotel previous to his journey, and followed the rest a little afterwards to the Palatinate, the evangelical princes and deputies assembled by eight o'clock in the morning for the final audience; and after being kept an hour in suspense, they were admitted to the

Imperial presence and declared that they could not give their 1530.
consent to the Recess. Joachim of Brandenburg made reply: "The Emperor, too, has a conscience; and since you refuse to submit to the will of the majority, his Majesty will unite his forces to those of the States of the Empire, and utterly root out this new error and sect;" and with a good deal of menace he proceeded to charge the princes with originating the peasant insurrection, "in which 100,000 men were slain." They denied that they had given any occasion to the peasant rebellion; and answered that "they put their trust and hope in the matter only in God, and looked to the Emperor to be their all-gracious lord." Meanwhile, the Elector John had entered the room, and they all advanced in a body to take their farewell of the Emperor. "Uncle, uncle," Charles exclaimed, with visible emotion, as he gave his hand to the Elector, "I had not expected this from *you*." John, on his part, was unable to refrain from tears: he was personally attached to his Sovereign; but feelings with him had long been made subordinate to principle. Late in the afternoon of the same day, the Elector and his retinue quitted Augsburg: a joyful release from a scene of protracted and severe trial, which Luther in his congratulations compared to "getting loose from hell." "*We* are in God's hands," he said to the Elector, "and so are *they*: I have committed the cause to my Lord God. He has begun it, that I know; He will bring it to pass, that I believe."

A new Recess was framed, which was at length read in the Diet the 19th November, in more bitter terms than the preceding project. It re-established Popery in the full; condemned the errors of Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists; made restitution to the Church of all her property; declared Catholic subjects of heretical governments to be under the protection of the Empire; and promised that a council should

1530. be convened within six months, to commence its sittings within a year. The carrying out this Recess was to devolve upon the Imperial Chamber, which was re-organised: and before this tribunal, such princes or cities as should be guilty of disobedience to the edict, were to be indicted by the Imperial fiscal. Five days afterwards Charles and his Court quitted Augsburg, and descended the Rhine to Cologne, where he intended to have his brother Ferdinand elected King of the Romans—a provision of the utmost importance in order to consolidate and perpetuate the power of his house, which his own frequent and lengthened absence from Germany gave a ready pretext for demanding. With such an object in view, Charles might well regret that he had estranged from him the Elector of Saxony: but, on the other hand, the asperity of the Recess, and the devotion with which he professed to surrender himself, "body and soul," to the defence of the Catholic Church, had served to secure in other influential quarters a more ready compliance with his despotic schemes.

The Romanists and Protestants were now at leisure calmly to survey the course of events down to the final issue of the Augsburg Diet, and to weigh in the scales of cool reflection the advantages reciprocally obtained. On the one hand, the voice of authority had proclaimed its sentence: the Pope, the Emperor, and the majority of the princes had inscribed their condemnation of "the Elector and five princes and six cities" in letters of blood. But notwithstanding this union of potentates,* and their authoritative sentence of condemnation,

* It was part of the bargain between Pope and Emperor that Clement's son Alexander should marry Charles' natural daughter Margaret. Alexander was received at Augsburg with great pomp. Luther commented on the news—"Does not the Pope set priests a public example of taking wives, or rather strumpets?"—De Wette, IV. p. 191.

the solid advantages of the struggle almost exclusively re- 1530.
mained with the Protestants. The working of the national mind was more decidedly than ever in their favour; and signs of this were continually rising to the surface in the conversion of nobles and princes to the faith of Scripture. In argument, the Protestant party had gained an indisputable and signal triumph. Both the Confession, and the Apology for the Confession, in matter and in style, were masterpieces of reasoning and eloquence; while the Confutation, as Melancthon said, was "so utterly puerile," that its authors feared nothing so much as its publication—"such a bat," Luther said, that its strength and vitality consisted in not seeing the light. There was a swarm of anecdotes in ridicule of the Romanist logic. The words of God to Eli, that He would "raise him up a faithful priest," to whom "every one that was left in his house should come and crouch for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices, that I may eat a piece of bread," had been quoted in the Confutation to prove that communion in one kind is scriptural. The Jews having their "loins girded" when they ate the Passover was cited as a reason for priests abstaining from matrimony. And when they were at great straits in the conference for a biblical justification of the invocation of saints, Eck suggested, as applicable to the subject, the text in which Jacob, speaking of Manasseh and Ephraim, says, "Let my name be named on them, and the names of my fathers;" but, some more relevant passage being demanded, Cochlæus exclaimed, "How can you expect to have saint worship proved to you from the Old Testament, when the saints were yet in the loins of their fathers?" "There," said John Frederic, turning to Eck, "you have got the answer to your text." Admissions, too, of the necessity of a reformation of the Church from the

1530. highest authorities were in universal circulation. The Emperor had declared, "If the clergy had done their duty, there would have been no work for Luther." "What do you want to do with us?" the Archbishop of Salzburg had said to Melancthon; "we ecclesiastics always were a good-for-nothing set." And, in fact, the very violence and sanguinary tone of the Recess sounded too much like exaggeration, to produce the effect intended by it. Sixteen cities, and amongst them Augsburg, which had before displayed such submissive docility to the Emperor's will, refused their assent to its rigorous enactments. And before quitting Augsburg, the Electors of Mentz and of Treves both declared that "they would have nothing to do with taking up arms;" and the former was bold enough to put the question in its prudential form to Charles himself—"Our subjects are all Lutherans: is it to be expected that they will fight for us against their own faith?" Risings, too, amongst the peasantry in Franconia, even whilst the Diet was sitting, gave a practical demonstration of what might be expected from an attempt to put down Lutheranism by the sword: and it was whispered that even the Emperor spoke of the words used by the Elector of Brandenburg, in the final interview with the Protestant princes, as "sharp, and more than he was bidden to say."

It was, moreover, a happy prognostic that the fury and hatred of their opponents were beginning to impress the German Protestants with the importance, and even necessity of internal concord. Bucer and Capito corresponded with Melancthon, Brentz, and Bruck; and Bruck on the one side stated Luther's doctrine to be, that "Christ is present in the bread and wine, not locally, but in the same way in which he is present in his Church, and in all creatures:" and Bucer on the other side affirmed, that Christ is present in the Sacrament by "the contemplation of faith," that "the pure heart

by faith is raised to heaven, where, as the old fathers, and as 1530.
Luther himself taught in the Postils, his best book, Jesus Christ, man and God, is seated at the Father's right hand:" and Bucer spoke with some satisfaction of the more recent works of Luther and Brentz on the Sacrament. The Tetrapolitan Confession was read by Luther with approval, and it stated on the Sacrament, that "the bread and wine were the true body and true blood of Christ, for the food and drink of the soul." And a little later Bucer proceeded to Coburg, and succeeded in mitigating the prejudices which Luther, who generally styled him "the fox," entertained against him personally, and in making some nearer approach to doctrinal agreement. "Bucer had a familiar colloquy with me," Luther wrote to his friend Brismann, communicating the results of the Diet, "while I was at Coburg; and, if he is not deceiving us—and I told him in plain terms not to act the hypocrite—I have no little hope of reconciliation with Strasburg. We must all pray against Satan."

With a glad heart and a bright countenance, John the Constant rode from the scene of his courageous confession of the Gospel. He had departed from Augsburg too late in the afternoon to travel beyond a neighbouring castle that night. On the 27th he entered Nuremberg, and Melancthon had the exquisite pleasure of supping with Camerarius, and venting by word of mouth his displeasure against the deputies of that city, and the councillors of Hesse and Luneburg. On the 3rd October the cavalcade reached Coburg. On the 5th or 6th the prophet of Germany descended from his tower, and, in company with his Prince began the long-wished-for journey home. On the 8th the party reached Altenburg; where the theologians were accommodated in Spalatin's house; and Luther preached that evening, and the following Sunday morning, before the Elector, as he had indeed done on all

1530. the previous days of the journey. Sunday evening the Elector proceeded to Grimma; and on the 10th was once more securely lodged in his palace of Torgau, where Luther remained until after the following Sunday, when he preached in the chapel of the palace. Before the 18th, Luther had received the greetings of Kate in the Augustine Convent, and her hearty congratulations that the Papists had been disappointed in their design to "send the monks and nuns clean back to their cells." But she did not find Luther improved in health. During his six months' residence at Coburg, "Satan had sorely buffeted him in his wilderness;" and he complained of a considerable decline of strength, and a sense of advancing age; and the ringing in the head was still at times troublesome, particularly in the early hours of the morning. Instead, however, of relaxing his industry, on Bugenhagen's being summoned in November to establish the Reformation in Lubeck, Luther at once undertook his duties in the Church, and the care of the parish.

The Elector's attention was now directed to two points especially: the demand of the Emperor to have his brother Ferdinand elected King of the Romans, and the obvious necessity of some united plan on the part of the Evangelicals in resistance to the proceedings soon to be instituted against them before the Imperial Chamber. As usual, Luther was consulted on both subjects. But in reference to the election of Ferdinand, he delivered it as his decided opinion that the Elector of Saxony should not oppose his veto to it. He regarded this as the true course, because it was the path of peace and obedience; he reminded the Elector, moreover, that it would be very unwise to augment the Emperor's displeasure, which had displayed itself so strongly, in refusing him investiture; and as to Ferdinand's notorious antipathy to the Gospel, and persecuting blood-thirstiness, Luther observed, "Our Lord God

will still remain master and controller of events." In his own 1530.
language the Emperor had proved himself to be "the mere tool of the biggest rogue in Christendom," (the Pope;) Ferdinand had never shared Luther's sympathies: but notwithstanding all this, "the only true course was to stand by God, and not run into uncertain peril without need." Bruck, however, and the lawyers, took the opposite side. They saw through the Emperor's designs, and warned the Elector to resist the nomination of a King of the Romans in Charles' lifetime as an unconstitutional act. Again, in regard to the question of a defensive alliance, Luther and the lawyers drew their verdict from different sources, and viewed the subject from opposite points. Luther regarded the German Empire as directly descended from the Empire under which Christ himself and his Apostles lived, to which they were obedient, and enjoined others to render obedience also. The lawyers insisted that the prerogatives of the Emperor as much as the privileges of the Electors were derived from law, that the whole political system was purely a matter of compact, and that the Emperor was no more to be permitted to infringe this compact than an Elector or noble. Into legislative and constitutional researches Luther was unwilling to descend: the utmost that he would allow was, that supposing Bruck's view of the case to be just, then a citizen, at the command of his own immediate Sovereign, as a citizen, would be justified in bearing arms to resist an unlawful demand of the Emperor. He had before endeavoured to reconcile prelatical episcopacy with Scripture by a similar distinction: the bishop and prince were, he said, incompatible; but the same man might bear two characters, that of bishop and that of prince, to be carefully kept apart: and so now he maintained that, as a Christian, no one must form leagues or take up arms against the Emperor; as a

1530. citizen, a man might take up arms at the behest of the magistrate.

It seemed to the Protestants that no time was to be lost. Ferdinand and the Pope were in correspondence, and troops were levying in Italy. Accordingly, on the 22nd December, the evangelical princes held a memorable meeting at Schmalkald, in which it was agreed that "the cause of one should be the cause of all," and that a joint appeal from the Augsburg Recess should be drawn up, and the Augsburg Confession should be translated into the other languages of Europe, for circulation in all lands, and more particularly amongst the princes and delegates at that time assembled at Cambray. The Landgrave cordially concurred with the Elector in the necessity of "putting a bit in Ferdinand's mouth," by resisting his elevation to be King of the Romans; and the other princes and deputies were ready enough to follow in the wake of Saxony and Hesse, with the exception of the Margrave George, who was now with Charles at Cologne, and of the deputies of Nuremberg, who adhered steadfastly to the pacific policy marked out by Luther. It was likewise agreed that if the verdicts of law should be enforced by arms, as the Recess declared, and any one of the confederate princes or cities should be assailed, the rest would contribute their aid, and ward off the attack. But here, again, the deputies of the Margrave dissented; and out of the deputies of fifteen evangelical cities that were present, only the deputies of two, Magdeburg and Bremen, went heart and hand with Saxony and Hesse, and signed the defensive alliance. The hills around the little town, to which this alliance has given an immortal name, were capped with snow, whilst the Protestant princes and deputies were keeping their Christmas there; the season of the year, as well as the urgency of the occasion, demanded speed, and on the 31st December the deliberations were closed.

Meanwhile, the electoral prince John Frederic was at 1530.
Cologne, opposing the Saxon protest to the election of Ferdinand. The opposition of Saxony had been foreseen; and at first the idea had been to deprive the Elector John of the right of voting, as under the bann of the Augsburg Diet: but the other electors, and especially the Elector Palatine, had rejected such a measure as a dangerous precedent tending to the dishonour of their order. A papal brief, therefore, had been provided, as an effectual answer to John the Constant's Appeal to the Golden Bull. But the Elector, on his part, was not so rash as to conceive for a moment that his veto would prevent the will of the Emperor from being carried into effect: he relied, and, as events proved, with sufficient reason, on the moral weight of his protest. The Dukes of Bavaria were instigated by personal motives to make common political cause with Saxony. And, although Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans at Cologne on the 5th January, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 11th, he 1531.
soon found that his new dignity was no better than titular: public opinion went with the Protestants, both on religious and constitutional grounds; Ferdinand was not allowed his new title by Saxony, Bavaria, or the majority of the cities; and before long he complained to the Emperor that he had no more authority in the empire than any other prince.

At this crisis, with angry feelings on all sides, leagues, and rumours of leagues, and his own Prince in deliberate resistance to Cæsar, Luther felt his responsibility, and raised high a voice of warning to his "dear Germans." "We are reviled," he said, "as Lutherans; but we have without ceasing prayed and implored for nothing else but peace and quiet: and lately at the Diet we desired peace to the utmost, and in the most humble form entreated it. If, then, war or tumult arise, let no man say, 'Lo! here is

1531. the fruit of the Lutheran doctrine:' on the contrary, let him exclaim, 'Behold! the fruit of the Papist doctrine: the Papists could neither have peace themselves, nor let others have it.' They may, if they please, kill me; but what will that avail their Pope and monks? for I in the name of God shall go to heaven, and they in the name of all the devils will sink to hell. If they must have war, yet they will meet with no good fortune in it, for their consciences are loaded with gross lies, bitter blasphemies, with innocent blood, wilful murder, and every atrocity, above all with hard impenitent hearts, and sins against the Holy Ghost." So if the thirsty bloodhounds must have war, he for his part should keep still and be silent, and not mix himself up with it; but, as he had done in the peasant rebellion, let things take their own course. Their joy was his confidence—their wrath his laughter; for all they could take from him was a sackful of sickly flesh; but what he could take from them—that they should learn in their hearts. How every German must turn red with shame to think of the Diet of Augsburg! What must the Turk and his whole kingdom say to it? What Tartar and Muscovite? Who under the whole heaven could assert ought honest in behalf of the Germans, when he heard that they had suffered the accursed Pope and his masks to mock them, treat them as fools and children, as clods and blocks, by their handling of his blasphemous, sodomitish, and scandalous doctrine and living—scandalous, yea, over and above scandalous, in open Diet, against all right and truth. What German but must blush to have been born a German, and to bear the name? The Confession had been acknowledged, even by the Papists, to be the plain truth in accordance with Scripture; but as to the Reply to it, they must hang the head, and own by their gestures, it was a weak frivolous thing, so paltry that a woman, a child, a layman, a country boor was

quite man enough—God be praised!—to stand up against it 1531.
with good ground of Scripture and truth. If their Reply were not a paltry thing, why should it be mewed up that it should not see the light? As Christ said, "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light." Then came a commission, which took for the basis of examination not the Reply, but the Confession. Here they gave up the one kind in the communion: yet before they had shed blood in behalf of it. This in plain German was truly to blow hot and cold from the same mouth. Had the Lutherans made any such concession, the whole world would have heard the news — "Dear people, see, these Lutherans are recanting;" but like Reply, like Commission. The Reply was a midnight bat; the Commission a mere cheat and fraud. And since he was called "the German Prophet," as became a true teacher he would warn his dear Germans of their shame and danger, and give them Christian counsel how they must act, if the Emperor, instigated by his devil the Papists, should summon them to arms against the evangelical princes and states. Not that he thought the Emperor would follow such poison-blowers, but he would satisfy his conscience. In such a case they must not hearken to the Emperor; and whoever should hearken, must know that he would be disobeying the dear God, and bringing ruin on himself, body and soul, eternally. For the Emperor, if he called to arms, would break not only God's law, but the law of his own empire, his oath, his obligation, his own seal and letters. And if they should take up arms in obedience to the Emperor, they would be acting against God's truth, and would be restoring the sins and abuses of Popery, and be subverting the blessings which had already sprung from the Reformation. In conclusion, he dwelt upon the great doctrine of justification by faith alone, which, he said, would "prevail against all the gates of hell."

1531. He promptly followed up this address by "Notes on the Edict of Augsburg," asserting that the Edict was not the genuine product of the Imperial will, but language forged by the Pope and the monks. He reviewed its numerous doctrinal errors, and affirmed that, "if the Church failed to obey God's word, she was no longer the Church, the bride of Christ, but became the harlot of Satan." As to the Papist pretence that the Church could not err, "the whole Church had reason to cry every day—'Forgive us our debts.' Yet a return to Scripture was branded as innovation, when in truth all Popery was an innovation. Where were the two canons, cassock and cup, tonsure and cowl, mumbling and howling, selling the Mass for sixpence to buy the soul in purgatory, &c. to be found in the Scriptures? Eagles and lynxes were reputed acute of sight, but they must be stone-blind in comparison with the doctors who could descry such things in Holy Writ. In declaring that the will is not bound, the Augsburg Idols had handled a topic they did not understand: in human matters, indeed, the will was not bound; but in divine matters the will was by nature bound and lifeless. The will was by nature a captive to Satan, death, and sin." He concluded by reverting to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, on which, he said, the entire controversy really hinged. "I see that this doctrine in particular, the Devil is ever blaspheming through his swinish doctors, and cannot leave alone. Therefore I, Dr. Martin Luther, unworthy evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ, hereby declare that this article—that faith without any work justifies before God, the Roman Emperor, the Turkish Emperor, the Tartar Emperor, the Persian Emperor, the Pope, all cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, kings, princes, lords, the whole world, and all devils, shall leave firm and unshaken, and in reward of their blasphemy shall have the fire of hell upon their heads. I, Dr. Luther, declare this

by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and this is the true gospel. Amen." 1531.

These two compositions, and two others, falsely ascribed to Luther, raised the bile of Duke George, and he again applied to the Elector to prohibit the violence of the Reformer's writings. These complaints were transmitted to Luther, and in a letter to the Elector received the following reply:—"I never intended that the edge of my writings should be dull, and only grieve that it is no sharper. Have the *deeds* of our opponents been dull and gentle? Is the Edict of Augsburg gentle? They have shed our blood like water; is that their gentleness? But if they dislike keen writings, why does not King Ferdinand restrain Faber, and the Dukes of Bavaria Eck, and Duke George himself Cochlæus? Their writings have not spared your electoral Grace; and Duke George has written of me in a strain that would disgrace Cochlæus or Emser. If on their side a hundred thousand were writing, nay, every leaf and blade of grass could take tongue, and vilify me most foully and falsely, all would appear to them just and right. They may do anything, and I nothing; they are to babble as they like, and I must be silent. Every act of ours is wrong, though we could raise the dead; all they do is good, although they have deluged whole provinces with innocent blood! These gentle people must be touched with a finger of cotton, and be told—'Well done, my masters! what sweet, nice people you are!' I did not write drunk, or in my sleep; but I know that a hard knot requires a sharp wedge." Luther did not much mend the matter by publishing immediately afterwards another tract "Against the Assassin of Dresden." But shortly afterwards, when the Elector and Duke George were reconciled, Luther came forward and professed that he should be most reluctant to be a cause of dissension; he would be satisfied that Duke George's back bore "memorable knots and lumps"

1531. from the encounters between them, and thenceforward he would spare him; but this immunity was not to extend to the Papists generally.

Luther published this year a new edition of the Psalter, which he intended should be the last, and some sermons and expositions of some of the Psalms. He continued to suffer severely from the old malady in the head, and was in a state of continued weakness, which obliged him more than once to seek change of air and recreation. On the 5th May, by the Elector's command, he preached before Duke Henry of Saxony, at Torgau. A month later he was at Lochau with his children, whose health he wished to benefit as well as his own by the trip, having previously informed Stiefel, the pastor of the place, that "he should be with him about church time." The next month he was again at Torgau on business; and towards the close of the year he paid a visit, for the sake of his health, to John Löser, hereditary marshal of Saxony, in his castle of Pretsch, on the Elbe, and accompanied his host with a hunting party to the chase. Whilst horsemen and hounds were busy with the sport, Luther's meditations were directed to the 147th Psalm, and he composed an exposition of it, which he committed to writing on his return, and published with a dedication to John Löser. His weak state of health made him feel the weight of his labours and duties as more than ever onerous. "To do all that is required of me, the time," he said, "ought to be three-fold longer than it is." "I am only able to give a seventh part of myself," he says, in writing to a friend, "to this letter." His prefaces to his own Expositions, and to the publications of others, become unusually brief: the details of his domestic life are omitted from his correspondence; and in communicating the birth of his second son on the 7th November, his words are simply, "God has given me from my Kate another

son, Martin." His longing for death breaks out repeatedly 1531.
—"Overwhelmed with toil I have been, am, and ever shall be, until that happy release!" Yet with all the harassing fatigue of mind and body which he endured, two hours of every day were devoted to perfecting his version of the Prophets.

He received intelligence in May, from his brother James, of the dangerous illness of his mother, and immediately wrote to console her:—He would willingly be present bodily with his heart-loved mother, but as that could not be, he would be present by letter. She knew from God's grace that her sickness was his fatherly and gracious rod; she knew, too, the essential of salvation to repose her trust on in every need—Jesus Christ, the corner-stone, the Saviour of all poor sinners. His words must be her comfort—"Be not afraid, I have overcome." "He has overcome Satan, sin, and death. You may therefore, with confidence say to death, 'Knowest thou not, O Death, that thou art conquered, and art dead? Knowest thou not Him who has said, I have overcome? O Death! thy victory, sting, and power, are swallowed up in Christ's victory; and though thou mayest gnash thy teeth, thou canst not harm me!' What thanks are due, dear mother, that God has not left you in Papist darkness, to build on your own works, the monk's holiness, and run to Mary and the Saints, away from Christ, as from a judge and tyrant; but that you know Him as the only comfort, our Saviour. That God has called you to this salvation, you have the seal and letters in the Gospel, Baptism, and the Sacrament. So rejoice in the words, 'Be not afraid; I have overcome.'" This proved the death-illness of Margaret Luther, who thus survived her husband only a year; and, deprived of both parents, Luther was increasingly sensible of his advancing years.

Twice in the year Luther wrote to the Margrave George, who appeared, from deference to the Emperor, to be rather

1531. wavering in the profession of the truth, and had declined into conformity with Popery in the article of one kind in the Sacrament. A constant subject of annoyance was the treatment which the pastors received from the people, the insufficient maintenance allowed them, and the fewness of pastors in proportion to the wants of the population. The year was one of pestilence, as well as of scarcity and high prices, and such trials seemed to sour the German temper. The town council of Zwickau, acting on the democratic principle of the right of the congregation to elect their own minister, expelled the minister of St. Catherine's, contrary to the wish of Hausmann, and placed another in his office. Luther addressed to the town council a thundering letter, and requested Hausmann, whom, as principal pastor of the town, he styled Bishop of Zwickau, to deal candidly with the council, represent to them plainly the wickedness of their disorderly behaviour, and in default of their returning to a sense of duty, to leave the place, shaking off the dust of his feet for a testimony against them. The town council, in their turn, addressed various letters to Luther, who, however, returned them their epistles partly unread and partly unopened, with the observation that "they were not worth the waste of either words or time." Hausmann complied implicitly with Luther's directions, and expostulated in strong terms with the council; and, on their refusing to amend their ways, quitted Zwickau, and after a time sojourned with the Reformer in the Augustine convent, to which he had at first been very averse, on account of Luther's poverty, until the continued entreaties to "come and share his plenty, till the Elector could provide for him elsewhere—God would be all-sufficient," overcame his repugnance.* The dispute as to the right of patronage was

* Hausmann was recommended by Luther to the Princes of Anhalt, as "a true heart and good man, who would teach God's word quietly

referred to the Elector; and it was arranged, with Luther's 1531.
reluctant consent, that in this one instance the caprice of the town council should be gratified, but that thenceforward no infringement of the right of patronage should be attempted. The whole transaction made Luther more eager in pressing for another visitation, which proceeded on its duties rather more than a year later.

In the autumn of 1531, Robert Barnes arrived at Wittenberg, sent from England by Henry VIII. to consult the Lutheran doctors on the subject of his contemplated divorce from Catherine of Arragon. The reference of this important case to Wittenberg, as well as Rome, affords an opportunity of contrasting Clement VII. and Martin Luther. The dilatory time-serving conduct of Clement is generally known. Luther, without a thought of expediency, and the obvious interest that would accrue to the Reformation, from humouring a despotic monarch such as Henry in his favourite whim, gave his opinion unambiguously in opposition to the proposed divorce. The Jewish law, he stated, was obligatory on Christians, only so far as it was identical with the law of nature. But even supposing it to be valid, he denied that Leviticus xviii. was more binding than Deuteronomy xxv. His sentence was, that the King of England had erred in marrying his brother's widow, but that he would be guilty of a much more heinous crime if he put her away, and so rendered both her and her daughter incestuous. Of the progress of the Gospel in England, and Henry's conniving at the zeal of the evangelical missionaries, Luther received accounts from Barnes, which filled him with joy and gratitude to God.

and chastely, and loved it." For some while he was preacher at Dessau, and of great service in establishing the Reformation there. Afterwards he was raised to the office of superintendent in Freyberg; but in his first sermon was struck with the death-stroke, to Luther's extreme regret. Hausmann became pastor of Zwickau in 1521.

1531. A little later news arrived, which dimmed the eyes and sorrowed the hearts of many of the German Protestants, but was not at all unexpected intelligence to Luther. On the 11th October, Zwingle had fallen at Cappel. In the dreadful conflict against the warriors of the Five Cantons, he had been at his post in his capacity of chaplain; and, when the battle was over, he was found quite dead under a pear-tree, "lying on his back with clasped hands and eyes upturned to heaven." After a short interval Œcolampadius, wasted with sickness and anxiety, followed him to the tomb. "Such is the end of that glory," Luther exclaimed, "which they sought by blasphemies against Christ's Supper. The leagues with the Landgrave and foreign princes are all ended now. It is written, 'Whose glory shall be turned into shame.'" "We see the judgment of God," he wrote to Link, "now for the second time—first in Munzer, then in Zwingle. I was a true prophet when I said, 'God would not endure those raving blasphemies.'"

All talk of war had for some time been subsiding. "King Ferdinand," said Luther, "has more reason to dread an attack from the Landgrave, than the Landgrave from King Ferdinand." The evangelical confederates had met in June, at Frankfort, when it was resolved that the defence before the Imperial Chamber should be made in the name of all the Protestants conjointly; and Duke Barnim, of Pomerania, who had determined to establish the Reformation in his dominions, his brother George being now dead, requested admission into the alliance. At the same time the Dukes of Gueldres and Cleves, who were highly incensed with the Emperor, on account of private wrongs, were in correspondence with the Landgrave. The Turk might be expected again in the neighbourhood of Vienna in the ensuing year; the King of England and the King of France were both in negotiation with the Schmalkald confe-

derates, and the Pope, although his compact with the Emperor 1531.
had been cemented by the union of their children, was, after all, very suspicious of the overweening greatness of an old rival. Moreover, Ferdinand could never be King of the Romans except in title, until the Saxon protest was withdrawn; and on that subject, so important to Charles, Bavaria had combined with Saxony. In this state of things the Electors of Treves and the Palatinate offered their mediation to the Protestants, with a view to procuring peace; and their mediation being accepted on the condition that proceedings before the Imperial Chamber should be suspended, delegates from the Emperor, who was now in the Low Countries, appeared in Saxony in the month of August. Everything showed how correctly Luther had estimated the pacific influence of so many discordant elements in the atmosphere of politics.

Without going the same lengths as Melancthon, Luther was prepared to go a great way to avoid what he always regarded as the heinous sin of schism. "The Bishops," he declared, "are wolves, foes, and tyrants; but the Jews, as Josephus writes, received their chief priests even from Herod and the Romans. The Bohemian brethren, to the present day, have their bishops consecrated at Rome; the holy prophets were obedient to the kings of Israel, who persecuted them; the father of John the Baptist received his ministry from Annas and Caiaphas. The bishops are wolves and tyrants, but, as they sit in the Apostles' seat, we may accept their jurisdiction, provided they suffer our doctrine to remain, and do not force us to do ought against God." Matrimonial causes, which had occasioned him great trouble, he was quite ready to resign into the bishops' hands. He was most eager for a specific truce, and with as little delay as possible. "The delay of one day," he wrote to the Elector, expressing strongly his approval of the mediation of the Electors of

1531. Treves and the Palatinate, "often brings after it the delay of a year."

Meantime it was resolved, by delegates of Saxony and Hesse, who met at Nordhausen, that the Elector and Landgrave should not attend the Diet, which had been transferred from Spires to Ratisbon, and summoned to meet in the latter town in the following spring. It was also determined that aid against the Turks should be refused; that the protest against Ferdinand's election, and the correspondence with the Dukes of Bavaria, should be continued, and negotiations should be opened with the Waywode. And at a meeting of the Schmalkald confederates, held at Frankfort on the 19th December, John Frederic and the Landgrave were conjointly appointed the leaders of the alliance.

But the Electors of Mentz and the Palatinate were still active in the work of peace, and early in the spring negotiations were recommenced at Schweinfurt. The main obstacles to an accommodation were, on one side, the claims that Ferdinand should be recognised as King of the Romans, and that the Church property should be restored; on the other, that all future adherents to the Augsburg Confession should be included in the terms of peace, and that the processes before the Imperial Chamber should be at an end. Luther's opinion was required on the various questions. He ridiculed the demand for the restitution of Church property: "Let the Papists," he said, "first restore the innocent blood which they have shed." But he entreated the Elector to acknowledge Ferdinand as King of the Romans. "It is true," he wrote to
1532. him in February, 1532, "that Ferdinand was elected against the Golden Bull; but you have sufficiently marked your sense of that violation of law. In this world many wrong acts will ever be done, which oftentimes, when done, we must allow, to prevent greater wrong. God is holding out his

gracious hand to you; let him not hold it out in vain." It 1532.
would be an awful thing, he said, to go to war "for a little article of the Golden Bull." He denied that the cities would ever fight in earnest for the princes; and hinted that the "Dukes of Bavaria had made a sop for Saxony to sup up, whilst they intended to look on:" above all, he objected fundamentally to the Schmalkald alliance: "It was a relying on human help in neglect of the arm of the Almighty."

Whilst these negotiations were pending, the Elector John was seized with violent inflammation in the right foot; mortification was apprehended, and the physicians thought it necessary that the great toe should be amputated. For twenty weeks the good Elector was unable to stand upon his foot, and endured great pain with remarkable patience; and was consoled by letters from Luther, and twice visited by him, and greatly cheered by his prayers and conversation. At the end of February, Luther was staying with the Elector at Torgau, and wrote thence to his wife: "My heart-loved Kate, I trust to be again with you to-morrow, or the day after. Pray God to bring me home brisk and well. I sleep over well, sometimes six or seven hours together. It is the fault of the beer; but I am now more sober, as at Wittenberg. Give Johnny a dressing for me: and tell him, Magdalen, and Cousin Lena to pray for the dear Elector and for me. I cannot, although it is the fair, find anything here to buy for the children. Tell me what I shall do about it." A little later the Elector was much better, and able to write Luther a letter with his own hand. But Luther spoke of himself as still suffering in his head; "the devil tilted through it, so that he could neither read nor write." In May he visited the Elector again; and about the same time he was relieved from some of his laborious duties, by the return of Bugenhagen from Lubeck. His letters cease to be subscribed

1532. "Martin Luther, sick in my head;" and in June he informs Amsdorf: "By your prayers I am at length released from my malady." In July, he paid another visit to John Löser, the hereditary marshal, and stood god-father to his son.

The negotiations had failed of their object; principally because the Protestants insisted on the peace embracing all those who thereafter might join the evangelical ranks. Luther objected to their claiming such a stipulation. "Every one," he said, "is bound to believe and acknowledge the Gospel at his own peril: it is enough that we do not forbid, but offer the Gospel to all. The Emperor of his grace permits us the free celebration of our faith and worship, and cannot by right be compelled to extend the same favour to those who as yet are not of our creed." However, John Frederic and Chancellor Bruck took the opposite view of the question, and carried their point. But on the 17th April the Diet was opened; and nine days afterwards Sultan Soliman, having mustered his hosts, set out for the scenes of his former ravages. In June he crossed the Hungarian frontier at the head of 250,000 men. A little longer, and his myriads would cover with their tents the plains around Vienna. Luther was full of patriotic indignation: "What a portentous age! the Pope and the King of the French are unwilling to succour the Emperor against Mahomet. What has become of the money gathered by the Pope, for ages, against the Turk?" Sultan Soliman, however, thought more of Luther than of the Pope or the King of France: as each day's march drew him nearer to his prey, he continued to ask the question, "Has the Czar Charles made peace with Martin Luther?" Charles on his side felt how powerless he was to make any head against the hereditary foe of Germany, without the contingents of the Protestant Princes. The cities which were the manufacturers and capitalists of

the day, with more of worldly wisdom than of the simple faith of their Reformer, would not forward the cannon and ammunition, or supply the specie. Had the Sultan been disposed to treat, the evil might have been staved off in that way; but Soliman would listen to no overtures. In this dilemma, Charles fell back on the only alternative that was left him, and resolved to come to terms with the evangelical princes, and persevered in this resolution against the will of the majority of the Romanist States. Luther on his side reiterated his injunctions to the Evangelicals to accept peace. "Opportunity," he warned John Frederic, "has a forehead full of hairs, but its head behind is bald." 1532.

Peace was signed at Nuremberg. In the Recess, which was published the 27th July, no mention was made of it; but Charles proclaimed it by an edict published a week later. The Lutherans, on their side, relinquished the demand of prospective toleration; and Charles, on his side, gave a private assurance that the legal proceedings before the Imperial Chamber should cease. And, under the shade of the peace of Nuremberg, the Reformation took a new start, and spread its branches with increased vigour far and near, as it had before done under the shelter of the first Diet of Spires. But the Emperor had received such vexatious proofs of the impracticable doggedness of the German temper, that he governed by his own authority through his brother, without summoning another Diet until eight years afterwards. July 23.

With internal peace the ardour against the common foe revived on all sides; and most of the cities emulated, according to their ability, the zeal of Nuremberg, which doubled her contingents in men, money, and flour. And in a short time, Charles, just recovered from a tedious illness, was before the walls of Vienna at the head of an army of 75,000 men, who shared his own eagerness to do battle for the Cross.

1532. Luther addressed to the Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, the imperial lieutenant, a spirited letter, commending his "Christian heart and enterprise," and engaging that he "would himself fight with his 'our Father' under the banner of the dear Charles, against Satan and his members." But before the armies could meet, Soliman had received a repulse from the ruined walls of Guntz, which convinced him that the God of battle was no longer on his side. When the Turks were sure of victory, a horseman in complete armour descended in the air, brandishing his sword, and forbidding the Moslem to approach Jurischitz and his devoted band. The Sultan withdrew his troops, and, sending about 20,000 light armed soldiers into Austria, who were eventually almost all cut to pieces, pressed on himself with the bulk of his army into Styria, and appeared before Gratz. But news of the successes of Doria, the imperial admiral, reached him soon afterwards, and confirmed his despondency, and he beat a hasty and inglorious retreat. The Emperor was now anxious to employ his magnificent army in recovering Hungary from John Zapolya: but the Princes regarded the object for which they had enlisted their followers as achieved by the Sultan's retreat, and declined any share in an attempt to regain a throne for Ferdinand, and aggrandise the house of Austria.

But before this glorious result to the efforts of united Germany, within a month of the signing of the peace of Nuremberg, John the Constant had been suddenly removed from the turmoil of negotiations, wars, and jealousies. He had repaired, on the 12th August, with his two daughters and the Electress of Brandenburg, to his castle of Schweinitz, thinking that the sport of hunting might prove of service to his health; and on the morning of the 14th, when he went out for the chase, his temper, always serene, was observed to be more than usually cheerful. But about four o'clock the

next morning he was seized with pains in the head, followed 1532.
by an apoplectic stroke, which deprived him of the power of speech. A messenger was immediately despatched to summon Luther: and the Reformer, with Melancthon and Augustin Schurf, the physician, left Wittenberg about five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, and arrived at Schweinitz five hours later. When Luther and his companions entered his apartment, the Elector made an effort to raise himself on both his hands, but fell back exhausted, and within a little time afterwards expired. "It has happened to him," Luther said, "as to children, who are born, live, and die without forethought; and when he shall awake at the last day, he will think he has just returned from the chase in his forest of Lochau."

His remains were interred at Wittenberg; and two sermons Aug. 18.
were preached on the occasion by Luther, who took for his text the passage from which he had preached at the funeral of the Elector Frederic. He described the Elector John as "a right good friendly man, without any falsehood, in whom he could never discern the least pride, anger, or envy; ever ready to forgive, nay, too mild." He spoke of his "bitter death at Augsburg," his manful confession "of the death and resurrection of Christ, at the peril of loss of land, body and life." Compared with that, "the death of the reason and five senses was a child's death." He had not, indeed, been exempt from errors in government: "but every prince," he continues, "has ten devils about him, when a private man has only one." Simple, childlike, unpretending, pure from his youth, and full of earnestness of moral purpose, in Luther's words, "without guile and without bile," the Elector John, in act and motive, may vie with the most unsullied characters on the page of history. He was not gifted with the abilities of his brother Frederic; but Frederic only preserved the

1532. adherents of the Gospel from those who sought their ruin; John embraced the Gospel from its first revival, and gave up all for it. At Augsburg, when his theologians proposed to present the Confession in their own names, to save him from the perils which hemmed him round, he indignantly refused, exclaiming, "I too would confess my Christ." "Wisdom died," Luther declared, "with Frederic the Wise, and honesty with John the Constant: the nobles will reign now."*

It is probably to be attributed to the loss of a Prince after his own heart that Luther endured another attack of the ringing in his head in September. Somewhat later in the autumn he was very anxious about Kate, who was again advanced in pregnancy, and suffering from fever. On the 10th November, however, matters wore a more cheerful aspect, and Luther, Kate, and a party of guests sat down to a repast on a boar, a present from one of the Princes of Anhalt, to celebrate the anniversary of St. Martin, and the
1533. natal days of the two Martin Luthers. The first month of the new year made the Reformer again a father by the birth of his fourth living child, and third son. The infant was born late in the night of Tuesday the 28th January, St. Paul's day: and at one o'clock the following morning a letter was written by the Reformer to John Löser, the hereditary marshal, to ask him to "lift the new born infant from the baptismal water." The baptism was to take place in the evening, that the child might "remain a heathen as short a time as possible;" and the name to be given was Paul. Luther implored his Lord God to make of his infant son "a new foe to the Pope and the Turk."

* The Prince Consort of England is lineally descended from John the Constant, the progenitor of the Saxon houses of Weimar and Gotha.

Luther was now again involved in a contest with Duke 1533.
George. In the preceding year eighty families had been driven out of Leipsic, because they communicated in both kinds, and had taken refuge under the Elector's safeguard at Holzhausen: a consolatory letter had been addressed to them by Luther; and, some time afterwards, an exhortation to patience and fortitude. In this latter epistle the Reformer spoke of Duke George as "an Apostle of the Devil." Many copies were made, which passed from hand to hand; and one travelled in a goldsmith's pack from Nuremberg to Leipsic, and was detected by the town council. Duke George immediately inquired of Luther whether he was the author? and the Reformer replied with no little asperity. The Duke then complained to John Frederic of an infraction of the treaty entered into between them, and that Luther was stimulating the lower orders to rebellion. The Reformer stated in his defence that "he had never encouraged sedition; if it could be proved he had, he would revoke on Balaam's ass, and on all the asses and cows in the world. Duke George, as a prince, was entitled to the obedience of his subjects; but in the sight of God he was 'an Apostle of the Devil,' and no better than Pilate, Herod, or Judas Iscariot." Not satisfied with this, Luther addressed another consolatory epistle to the banished Leipsickers, in which he taxed, with his usual keenness, the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of Duke George, contrasting him with the gentle Emperor, and uttered what has always been reckoned among his prophecies — "What has not occurred within twelve years from the Diet of Worms! what will not have occurred within ten years from the Diet of Augsburg! The fury of Duke George will not last for ever; it will have an end, sooner than he thinks, or any one may imagine." He had ceased, he said, to pray for Duke George; his persecutions had been repaid more than

1533. tenfold on his own head; he was hurrying visibly to the pit of hell. The old smouldering embers of strife were now effectually stirred into a blaze. Cochlæus replied for Duke George. Luther received from the printers some sheets of the work, as it was going through their hands, and contrived that his answer should be exposed for sale with Cochlæus' "Reply," at the Leipsic fair in the autumn. As the tract bore Duke George's arms, Luther, who despised Cochlæus, whom he nicknamed "Dr. Snivel-spoon," or "Dr. Gawk," entitled his answer, "Against Duke George's Last Book." It discussed the accusation that he was "a runaway monk, a perjured man." "Yes!" said Luther, "such a runaway, as a Mameluke who should turn Christian, or a sorcerer who should renounce his compact with the Devil for repentance in Christ." "For twenty years," he continues, "I have been employed with prayers and watchings in the study of the sacred writings: I have lectured and written on the Scriptures for twelve years amidst daily trials and persecutions, with incredible toil, and yet I find myself still only a novice, learning the rudiments of Divine knowledge." But before the end of the year the Elector and Duke were reconciled at Grimma, and Luther wrote in December—"The princes are again friends; for this, and the preceding peace with the Emperor, praise be to God. Amen."

A treatise on the Private Mass and the Ordination of Priests was also published by Luther at this time, by way of challenge to the Papists. He observed in it, that at Augsburg the Papists had implored the Emperor to beg of the Pope to issue no more Indulgence letters: he had once offered to be silent on that question, but they would not let him: if it should go with the rest of Popery, as it had gone with Indulgences, whose would the fault be? "We cannot acknowledge," he said, "the Papacy as the Church, or even a part

of it, but only as its corruption and desolation; Antichrist 1533.
invading the Church, the word and order of God, and raising himself above God. We cannot locally separate ourselves from Antichrist, for Christ teaches that until the end of the age he shall sit in the holy place: but spiritually let us separate ourselves, avoid his corruptions, renounce his abominations, and maintain the pure faith." "The bishops of the early times," he said, "were only presbyters, the principal pastors of towns, as Augustin was Bishop of Hippo, a town not larger than Leipsic or Torgau; yet he was greater than any pope or cardinal, and consecrated many bishops and pastors. The Christian Church is where the Gospel is purely preached."

In the second visitation of the Saxon churches, which commenced in the spring, Luther took no part beyond recommending to the commissioners a superannuated clergyman for a pension; another clergyman for pecuniary compensation, on account of the destruction of his parsonage by fire; and a schoolmistress for maintenance, who had been removed from her school. By direction of the visitors, the Larger Catechism was to be taught on Sundays, the Smaller on the other days of the week; fines were imposed on the idle or profane, such as bought indecent books, or sang obscene or blasphemous songs. But it was again proved how much the efficiency of the Church system was impaired by the covetous disinclination of the laity to contribute to the support of their clergy. On the whole the visitation had good results, and the example of Saxony was followed in other parts of Germany.

The Emperor in the beginning of the year was with Clement again at Bologna, and persuaded him to send a nuncio, in company with his own ambassador, to carry his proposals to the six Electors and the six circles relative to a council. The Pope proposed that "the council should be

1533. a free Christian council, as from the beginning, according to the custom of the Church." Whilst the ambassadors were at Wittenberg, John Frederic removed thither, and attended Luther's preaching every day. Luther regarded the proposed council as a mere delusion. "A council as from the beginning," he said, "must decide upon Scriptural warrant; a council according to custom would be Constance, Basle, Pisa, over again; or, worse than all, the last Lateran. Here was half angel half devil." "Moreover, the Pope was a party to the cause, and could not therefore be judge: the question was, Scripture *or* the Pope." But, on maturer reflection, Luther and his colleagues judged it better not positively to decline the council, but to state objections, and then, whether the council should be or should not be, "with the day counsel too would come." The Schmalkald confederates held a meeting on the 24th June, and on the last day of June the proposed council was rejected by them, and three conditions were stated as essentially requisite to any council which they could accept—1. That it should be convened in Germany; 2. That the Pope should not be judge; 3. That the decision should be according to Scripture. It was also debated among the Protestants, whether they, on their part, should summon a council. But Luther's voice was raised against it:—"It would only," he said, "declare their disunion. God's Word was enough; compared with his Word, what were councils? a drop against the sun! Christ had the whole Holy Ghost without any devil."

Clement had been overawed by Charles to make overtures relative to a council, but his contradictory offers had imperilled nothing, and he was able to congratulate himself that he had satisfied the Emperor without compromising his own interests. In March, Charles embarked for Spain, and his departure was felt by his Holiness much as a second re-

lease from captivity. Accordingly, in the autumn Clement 1533.
set out for Marseilles, taking with him his niece Catherine de' Medici, the bride elect of the heir to the French throne. What may have been the exact nature of the consultations between Clement and Francis, at Marseilles, has never transpired; but there is scarcely a doubt that they concerted schemes to the detriment of their common rival the Emperor; that Francis communicated to Clement the negotiations which he had entered into with the Landgrave, and that the project of exciting the Schmalkald confederates against Charles, and thus giving him enough to do in Germany, received the approbation of his Holiness.

Nor was the Prince of Hesse the man to suffer the opportunity to slip for maintaining the cause of independent sovereignty in Germany, striking a blow at Ferdinand, and adding strength and extent to the Reformation. The old Duke of Wurtemburg had been deprived of his duchy by the Suabian League, and the investiture of his hereditary rights and dominions had been bestowed on King Ferdinand at the Diet of Augsburg. Long had Philip revolved the project of restoring an ancient house to its rightful sovereignty; but never before had every circumstance seemed propitious to such an enterprise. The Nuremberg peace was no hindrance to his plans, because the Protestants had long been complaining that the Emperor had not been true to his word, and the judicial processes before the Imperial Chamber had not ceased. The Dukes of Bavaria made common cause with Wurtemburg; the Suabian League was tottering; Brandenburg, Cologne, and the Palatinate, were so far on an understanding with the Landgrave, that their neutrality was promised. Treves even afforded succours; and the only remaining desideratum, money, was obtained from Francis I., with whom the Landgrave had an interview in January, at Bar-le-duc. Philip 1534.

1534. completed his preparations with his usual promptitude, and with 15,000 foot and 4000 horse, early in the spring approached the forces of King Ferdinand, which, being inferior in numbers, awaited his attack at Laufen, on the banks of the Neckar. The first conflict took place on the 12th May, and the Landgrave had the advantage; in consequence of which, Ferdinand's troops the next morning made an attempt to gain a better guarded position. Philip observing the movement, dashing on with his cavalry, charged them in flank, and was enabled to keep them at bay until his artillery had time to come up; and this effective arm soon put the Austrians to a complete rout. The success was sufficiently rapid and complete to astonish even the sanguine Landgrave: one after another the castles throughout the Duchy surrendered to him, and in less than a month Duke Ulric and his son Christopher were masters of their hereditary dominions. The German princes and nobles, for the most part, sympathized with the restoration of a sovereign house; and the Pope silenced every murmur of disapprobation with the inquiry, "Where, then, is the Emperor?" Duke George of Saxony alone appreciated the importance of the blow which had been struck, and directed his rage against the recreant Pontiff, accusing him of being the abettor of strife and confusion, in order to prevent the summoning of a council. By this revolution a new territory was added to the Evangelical side: the Suabian League shortly afterwards fell to pieces; the cities, which had belonged to it, subscribed the Augsburg Confession, and transferred their allegiance from the defunct Romanist League of the south, to the Protestant Confederacy of the north. But the most surprising effect of the Landgrave's triumph is, that on the 29th June peace was signed at the village of Cadan, near Annaberg, in Bohemia, between Ferdinand and the Protestants. On the one side Ferdinand was acknowledged

as King of the Romans, and on the other side it was agreed 1534.
that the Duke of Wurtemburg should hold his territories in fief of Austria, with a seat and voice in the Diet; that the judicial processes should cease; that investiture should be granted to John Frederic, and his marriage articles should be ratified. Religious differences were to be no ground for war. And thus the peace of Cadan was the supplement to that of Nuremberg.

The Landgrave had found no more strenuous opponent to his undertaking than Luther; and John Frederic and Melancthon had echoed Luther's censures. "Your enterprise will disturb the public peace," the Reformer warned the Landgrave, "and will affix a stain on the Gospel." Luther and Melancthon had recently been full of congratulation that differences which had arisen between the town of Erfurth and John Frederic had been adjusted, and that amity had been restored with Duke George. When they heard of the "Macedonian," as they called the Landgrave, grasping the sword, they deemed that a new fountain of innumerable troubles had been unsealed. But as soon as Luther found his forebodings not realized, and that war had issued in peace and the advancement of the Reformation, without exonerating the Landgrave, he gratefully recognized the hand of God. "God's hand is to be traced in the whole matter; and, contrary to the expectation of all of us, our fear is turned to peace. He who has begun will carry through. Amen."

But Luther was himself engaged in a contest of another kind. In 1533 an Exposition of the 84th Psalm had been published by Erasmus, with the object of reconciling Romanists and Protestants. Luther discerned in the Exposition many symptoms of a sceptical tendency, a low value for doctrinal truth, and a time-serving deference to custom and human authority. Erasmus had been answered by a Zwinglian

1534. divine and by a Lutheran; and to the work of the latter Luther had written a preface, in which he spoke strongly of Erasmus' mistake in confounding the union of charity with the union of truth. But Amsdorf persuaded Luther that he was further in duty bound himself to assail Erasmus in a specific treatise, as the true source and fountain-head of error, under whose authority Faber and Cochlæus, and the minor tribe of Papist writers, sheltered their own impotence. It was, moreover, to Erasmus that Luther imputed the rapid increase of sceptical opinions in Germany. At Munster, Anabaptism had raised its stronghold, and the tenets of Munzer and the Zwickau fanatics were carried out to their full political and moral consequences, under the government of a tailor from Leyden, John Bockelson, more commonly called John of Leyden, who had been proclaimed king. Community of women and goods of all kinds had been established, and a filthiness degrading human nature below the brute was defended by the pretence of immediate inspiration. Happily, in June of the following year, the efforts of the Bishop of Munster were seconded by the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony; the city was surrendered; and the ringleaders of fanaticism were made a terrible example for the warning and instruction of others. In other parts of Germany, the doctrines of the incarnation of the Son of God, of the Trinity, and all the distinctive articles of the Christian faith, were called into question, or exposed to ridicule. In all this Luther perceived so many proofs of the depraved influence which the scholar of Basle was exercising on public taste and religious ideas. "Erasmus," he said, "was the palmer-worm, who had crept into the paradise of the Church, and had filled every leaf with his maggots." Accordingly, in the spring of 1534 he assailed this prop and pillar of scepticism, in a tract published under the form of a letter to Amsdorf. "It was the

levity," he said, "with which Erasmus treated the most sacred 1534.
subjects which had induced him before to give him a sharp prick, in the hope of rousing him from his snoring, and awakening him to sober reflection. But all had been in vain, and he had only provoked the viper to produce the viper-asp. He had now learnt that Erasmus' defect was not simply levity, but far worse, malice and an entire ignorance of Christianity. To Erasmus, the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the depravity of man, the redemption of man, the resurrection of the body, and all the peculiar doctrines of the Christian faith, were matter for jest. His catechism for children contained the question—'Why in the Apostles' Creed is the Father called God; the Son, not God but Lord; the Spirit neither God nor Lord, but only Holy?' This was to children! Why, here was Satan himself! as of old, disputing God's word, and insinuating the doubt — 'Thou shalt not surely die!'" He then reviewed other writings of Erasmus, pointing out their sceptical tendency; and concluded by saying that Erasmus himself was unworthy of an answer: he had enough to do in teaching others, above all in translating the Scriptures, a work which itself required his full energies, to forsake important duties to catch at clouds and emptiness. But he would leave his testimony concerning Erasmus. Erasmus replied to this letter with his habitual acerbity. And Melancthon lamented "the petulance of old age" in both his great contemporaries. The following memorandum appears among Luther's correspondence—"Erasmus, the foe of all religion, and the pre-eminent adversary of Christ, is the exact pattern and copy of Lucian and Epicurus. I, Martin Luther, with my own hand enjoin thee, my dearest son John, and through thee all my children, and all the children of Christ's holy church, to lay this deep in your heart. It is no light thing."*

* "I have sometimes thought of writing a Dialogue of the Dead, in

1534. The infirmities of age were creeping fast upon the Reformer, so that his sermons for the year were given to the world by Caspar Cruciger, as editor; and besides these, his lectures on Isaiah, taken down from his mouth in previous years by some of his audience, and Expositions of the 44th and 100th Psalms, were the only additions to his works. In the spring he was again attacked with the ringing in the head, and Kate suffered much from fever, to which she was very liable from the damp and exposed situation of Wittenberg, the north and east winds blowing with penetrating keenness over "the sand and marshes." In the autumn Luther had a severe cough, with a great huskiness, which, like the ringing in the head, had now become a periodical visitor.

In the month of June Luther paid a visit to Prince Joachim, of Anhalt, at Dessau, who was labouring under lowness of spirits and debilitated health. The Reformer recommended him, in order to drive away melancholy, to resort to pastimes, hunting, &c., always to maintain a cheerful air and countenance, so as to shame the Devil, and, above all things, frequently to resort to music. Luther promised the Prince a second visit as soon as he had supplied the printers, whose importunities were most clamorous, and to "bring Bugenhagen with him, and remain eight days." And this promise he kept about the end of July: a little afterwards he was the Elector's guest at Torgau, whence he wrote to Kate that "the Court beverages did not suit him; he thought of the good wine and beer he had at home, and of his good wife, or rather, he ought to say, lord." Of John Frederic himself he spoke in the highest terms of eulogy, but the spirit of his courtiers was as antagonistic as ever to the Gospel.

which Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire should mutually acknowledge the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude."—GIBBON, *Miscell. Works*, I. p. 269.

On Thursday, the 17th December, at twelve o'clock, his 1534.
"lord Kate" was safely delivered of a daughter; and the same day and hour Luther wrote to Prince Joachim, of Anhalt—"The Almighty God has given me this hour, by my dear Kate, a little daughter. I told your Grace before that I should ask of you to undertake the Christian office of godfather; and I pray you, for Christ's sake, not to think this humility a burden to help the poor heathen from her sinful birth of death, to a new, holy, and saving second birth by the sacred laver of baptism. But as the weather is cold, and little suited to your Grace's state of health, I would gladly spare your Grace's own person, and suggest to you to depute in your place some one from Dessau or hence. Philip and Franciscus are absent. However, your Grace will well know how to accomplish your pleasure. God will reward it; and wherewith I can with all submissiveness serve you, I am in duty bound. I would fain have the babe baptized to-morrow. Christ be with your Grace unto salvation. Amen." Notwithstanding his increasing number of children, pecuniary straits or worldly difficulties of any kind were no trial to Luther. Three days after the birth of his daughter Margaret, he writes to his old friend Eberhard Brisger, the ex-prior, who had offered him the purchase of a house which he owned in Wittenberg, and was anxious to part with for the benefit of his family, for a very moderate sum. Luther writes that he could not raise half the price, or give so much as 200 florins for it; he would have him sell it to Bruno, who was in negotiation for it, and not be hard on him, but let him have it for 440 florins. "Why torment yourself," he adds, "about providing for your children? I am poorer than you, and so far ought to be providing for mine; but I know all my care would be fruitless. I commend them, therefore, to Him who up to this day has granted abundance,

1534. and if I am deserving will still grant it." A few months later he speaks of his intention to purchase a small dwelling for his old servant Wolfgang, who was past service, and had lost the use of his left arm, and Luther could not bear to think of his becoming an inmate of an hospital, or living on alms. And from the incidental mention subsequently in his correspondence of "the debts he had contracted, and his obligation to maintain many domestics," there can be little doubt but his generous intention was carried into effect.*

From scepticism Luther turned in a very acrid mood to Romanism. Preaching on the festival of All Saints, he is reported to have warned his congregation to "pray no more for the bloodhounds, the Elector of Mentz and Duke George of Saxony, but rather to pray that God would hurl them into hell. They might still pray for the Elector of Brandenburg." Luther had every provocation to such language, that could be given by virulence of persecution redoubling in activity in consequence of the rapid progress of the Gospel; but a complaint was immediately lodged against him, with the Elector, by Duke John, the son of Duke George. The Reformer acknowledged that he had applied the term "bloodhound" to the Archbishop of Mentz, against whom he intended soon to publish a tract: but "he had no recollection of having included Duke George in his denunciation. He had dined, however, after the sermon, with the Electress of Brandenburg, and had repeated at her table what he had declared in the pulpit, and he might perhaps then have added the name of Duke George. But Duke George was not to be softened by mildness, or to be satisfied by any answer; the Elector Frederic had

* Luther's humorous "Petition of the Birds against his Servant, Wolfgang Siebergern," that they might not be dislodged from his newly-acquired property, or be neglected, is a more conclusive proof. —Walch. XIV., p. 1358.

said of him, 'my cousin is a rude, gross man, and with such 1534.
heads the first indignation is ever the best.'" John Frederic in reply, gently requested that Luther would be more guarded in his expressions from the pulpit for the future. The Reformer brought a very grievous subject of complaint against the Archbishop of Mentz in the next year, that he had put Hans 1535.
Schanz to death by hanging, without any legal condemnation or trial. The affair was much talked of at Wittenberg, and in the Augustine Convent at Luther's table, with whom Louis Rabe, a subject of the Archbishop, happened to be on a visit. The Archbishop at once suspected that Rabe had turned informer, and threatened him with punishment, which caused Luther to take up the pen very warmly in his defence. "Louis Rabe," he said, "sat over his platter as meek and modest as a maid: he did not run up and down the streets, but remained quietly in his own chamber. Rabe had indeed spoken more good of his hellish Cardinal than he for his part should ever credit, and he hoped the Archbishop would not be for hurrying him to the gallows quite so fast as he had hurried poor Schanz. If all were straightway to be hanged who spoke evil of the Cardinal, soon there would not be hemp enough in Germany. But, as thought was free, the Archbishop must not be surprised to find his acts freely canvassed in spots where he could not erect his gibbet." And before closing the letter Luther alluded to the atrocious murder, by the Cardinal, of George Winkler. In the March of the following year another letter followed in a more solemn tone. "Be assured," he wrote to the Cardinal Archbishop, "that Abel lives in God, and cries louder than Cain, the murderer, may think. I inclose to your Grace fresh intelligence, that the blood of John Schanz is not so silent in Germany as in your Grace's palace, amidst the buzzing flattery of your courtiers. Your Grace's conscience must sing a fine

1535. descant in such tenor, and against your will, must cry, Amen. You will say Schanz was a thief: I think not. But who was it stole the goods of St. Maurice? If every thief is to hang, then the Cardinal of Mentz ought to hang ten times, on a gallows raised to the height of three gibbets. *You* plunder churches and pilfer cloisters, as though they were a Cardinal's peculium at Rome, and then squander your thefts on gluttony and profligacy. As to harlots, I know, that from the poor miserable Elsa at Magdeburg you took, as she said on her death-bed, what you could not restore to her. Not to say what wrong and robbery it is to persecute the burghers of Halle without right or cause. I tell you what I will do: I will take the last words of Hans Schanz as Shrove-tide music for your Grace. So let your Grace's feet itch for the dance, and I will be your piper. If Cain can say, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' so can God say, 'Cursed art thou from the earth.'" But the threatened Treatise against the Archbishop was delayed until nearly four years later.

In the summer of 1535 the plague again fell upon the town of Wittenberg: and John Frederic wrote to Luther to request him to lose no time in repairing with his wife and family to a place of safety. But the Reformer, though "old in strength, but not in years," was as little disposed to retreat before "the devil and his pestilence," or rather his "clamour of a pestilence," as he had before been in 1527. His reply to the Elector ran in his peculiar vein of humour. "My weather-gauge is the prefect of Saxony, John Metsch, who has such a keen nose for a pestilence, that, were it five ells under ground, he would scent it out. He is still at Wittenberg, and as long as he remains here, there is no fear of a pestilence. But since the dog-days are at hand, to allay apprehensions I have made my rounds through the town, to search out about the pestilence, and the following are the results

of my investigations:—There is a good deal of sickness. 1535.
Some have got bad sores in their purses; others have the colic in their books; some the scurvy in their pen; others the gout in their paper: and many complain of mould in their ink; others have the heartache to see their fatherland. The fear is, that if our heads and elders do not labour with all their surgical and medical skill to cure and stay these disorders, the whole land will die out, and there will be neither preacher, pastor, nor schoolmaster." Luther makes a similar statement in a letter to Dame Jörgerin, acknowledging the gift of 500 florins for the relief of poor students; that, "unless his inquiries had made him acquainted with the facts, he never could have supposed that there were at Wittenberg such a multitude of impoverished students, toiling on, despite penury, in their eagerness to study the Scriptures, and acquire the languages in which they are written."

However, there was another plague at Wittenberg, besides the intellectual and spiritual one, which Luther could alone detect, and, in the middle of August, the university, as before, was removed to Jena. Melancthon followed with his scholars. Jonas fled from the contagion. Luther remained at his post in the deserted town. His health was very infirm; but, in the absence of his friends, he put his own admonitions in practice, maintained a cheerful face, and scared away the devil with music, mirth, and good cheer. In September, the degree of Doctor was to be conferred, and the Professors intended to return for a day or two for the occasion. Luther prepared the theses for disputation, and provided a handsome entertainment. Jonas was to send a supply of game and fowl, and a dollar was sent to him for this purpose; and Kate brewed her best ale, to the joy of her husband, whose stock of his favourite beverage had for some time before been run dry. The 19th October was the twenty-third anniversary of

1535. Luther's own promotion to the academical rank of Doctor, and he was invited by Kate to a repast, which she had prepared in commemoration of the day. He wrote with great glee to his friends of the intended feast: "I hope," he adds, "that I shall not survive another anniversary, but shall enter heaven this year. Amen." The plague had now revealed itself unmistakeably; in one house husband and wife had both fallen victims to it, and Matthesius relates that Luther at once took the orphan children into the Augustine convent, and smiled when he was told that he was tempting God. About this time he writes to his friends—"My charioteer has been struck from her seat;" the plague was suspected to be at the root of Kate's malady, but it turned out to be no more than the fever to which she was subject.

Luther's lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians, taken down from his lips by some of his audience, were published this year; but though his mental vigour continued unimpaired, his application was no longer what it had been; he had ceased to read Latin, and confined his attention to Hebrew, and the German books and poems of the day, which he carefully studied from love of the national literature, and also with a view to perfecting his translation of the Scriptures. His interest in the diffusion of Christianity led him to trace the triumphs of the Emperor over the Saracens in Africa with zealous interest, and he expressed his hope that the arms of Charles would not pause in their career of victory until Constantinople had been wrested from the Mussulman, and reunited with the western Empire. On the other hand, the decease of Clement VII., which had taken place on the 25th September in the foregoing year, is unnoticed in Luther's correspondence. Yet the elevation of Cardinal Farnese, under the title of Paul III., to St. Peter's chair, marked an entire change of policy and a new era in Romanism. The

new Pontiff created, at his elevation, a number of cardinals, 1535.
all of them more or less disposed to a reform of abuses, and a reconciliation with the Protestants; and the principal person among the newly elected, was Contareni the Venetian, a firm maintainer of Luther's sentiments on justification by faith alone, and the spiritual bondage of the will. It was not long before Paul III. adopted measures to arrange the long-agitated question of a council; and the Elector communicated to Luther the information which had reached him on the subject. Luther, however, retained his incredulity. He replied, "I am like unbelieving Thomas; I can never credit the Pope's sincerity, unless I put my hand in the side and feel the nail prints. A council really free and Christian, I should welcome with joy, but such a council the Pope can never summon. To do so would be to renounce his Papacy."

However, on Saturday the 6th November, Verger, the nuncio of his Holiness, with twenty-one horses and an ass, arrived at Wittenberg, and was honourably received by the Prefect of Saxony, and lodged in the castle. The nuncio's instructions were to offer a council without any conditions; but it was hinted that he might, if circumstances should warrant it, suggest Mantua as the fittest place for meeting within the Imperial dominions: but his main efforts were to be directed to removing every suspicion of the insincerity of the Pontiff's professions on this long debated question. There was, however, one condition carefully concealed, but in itself tantamount to all the rest, which the Pope could never relinquish: viz., that the decisions of former councils, particularly of more recent ones, must be deemed sacred. The very evening of the nuncio's arrival, Luther was invited to sup with him; but he declined the invitation for that evening, and agreed to breakfast at the castle the next morning. Sunday morning, accordingly, he sent for his barber, and

1535. informed him with a smile, that he had been summoned to wait upon the nuncio of the most Holy Father, and he was very anxious to appear in his best looks, and to seem as youthful as possible, that his adversaries might say, "Luther has yet a long time to live." After his hair had been arranged, the Reformer equipped himself in his best attire, and put a gold chain, a present from the Elector, round his neck. Master Henry, the barber, objected, that such costly array would give offence. "It is for that I wear it," Luther replied; "they have offended us more than enough: this is the way to deal with serpents and foxes." Ascending the carriage, which had been sent from the castle to fetch him, and having Bugenhagen seated by his side, he exclaimed, "Behold the German Pope, and Cardinal Bugenhagen; this, too, is the work of God!" His reception was most courteous from the nuncio, whom in return he greeted with great politeness, but with none of the ceremonial respect generally paid to a papal emissary. Luther insisted that "the Pope was not in earnest in desiring a council. He was in joke; but even if a council should meet, the matter for deliberation would be of the most frivolous kind; they would talk about tonsures and copes and such like fools'-play, and omit the essentials of Christianity, justification by faith alone, and the unity of spirit and of faith." "And yet," he continued, "of these points of doctrine we are assured by the Spirit of God, and need no council to enhance our certainty: but it is important that the true doctrine should reach even to the Papists; so come, if you will, call a council, and by God's grace I will appear at it, at the peril of being burnt."

Nuncio.—"Where would you wish the council to meet?"

Luther.—"Anywhere; at Mantua, Padua, Florence, or where you like."

Nuncio.—"What! would you assent to Bologna?" 1535.

Luther.—"In whose territory is Bologna?"

Nuncio.—"It belongs to his Holiness the Pope."

Luther.—"Indeed! Good Heavens! What! has the Pope succeeded in getting Bologna too within his grasp? Well, I will go even to Bologna."

Nuncio.—"But what should you say if the Pope himself were to come to Wittenberg?"

Luther.—"We should all give him a hearty welcome."

Nuncio.—"Would you have him come with an army, or without an army?"

Luther.—"Just as he might prefer. Come as he would, we should welcome him."

The conversation now turned to the consecration of ministers, and Luther pointed to Bugenhagen as the Bishop of Wittenberg, consecrated by the Wittenberg Presbytery. A private interview followed this more public one, and the Reformer maintained his doctrine against a good deal of flattery, and implied promises of promotion, even to the papal chair itself, declaring "that it was more likely that the nuncio and the Pontiff would embrace the evangelical faith, than that he himself should ever forsake it." And these words proved in part prophetical, for Verger subsequently became a Lutheran. But the nuncio was in haste to be gone; he had suddenly arrived, and he as suddenly departed. "He flies," Luther said; "he does not ride." The nuncio, as he mounted his horse, smiled on the Reformer, as he said to him, "Be sure and be ready for the council." "Do not fear," Luther answered, "I shall bring my neck." Luther wrote to Jonas, "I played Luther during the whole breakfast, and answered the nuncio in terms most Verger-like." The nuncio wrote to Rome, of his interview with the Reformer, in strong terms of contempt for his rudeness and

1535. insolence. From Wittenberg the nuncio urged his way with all haste to the Margrave of Brandenburg, and thence prosecuted his route to Prague, and on the last day of November had an audience of the Elector of Saxony, who had reached that city on his return journey from Vienna, where, in accordance with the stipulations of the Cadan peace, he had received investiture at the hands of Ferdinand. Verger, with every protestation of sincerity, made John Frederic the offer of a "free, pious, universal, and pure council: the mode of the proceedings," he said, "would be dictated by the Holy Ghost when the council met;" and he stated his conviction that "the Protestants had done right in refusing the former proposals for a council." John Frederic deferred his final answer until it could be given conjointly with his Schmalkald allies. This alliance, which now numbered fourteen princes, two counts, and twenty-two cities, met shortly afterwards at Schmalkald, and took into consideration the nuncio's written propositions, offering a council without any express condition, excepting the place of meeting, which, it was suggested, should be Mantua, the fury of the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians being made an objection against holding it in Germany. On the 21st December, the Protestant answer was given in rejection of the offer. "How was it," the Schmalkald league inquired, "that enmity and persecution still dogged the heels of the evangelical preachers? No council could be free unless it were held on German ground, the form of proceedings duly arranged, and the Pope emphatically excluded from being either judge or referee. A council was not intended to be merely a pontifical or sacerdotal tribunal; it appertained to the Emperor, to Kings, Princes, and Rulers, to amend the false worship and doctrines of Popery."

1536. Luther was in very feeble health at this period. In Janu-

ary a severe attack of cold and hoarseness incapacitated him 1536.
for his public duties, and interfered even with his correspondence. But early in the year the University was recalled from Jena; this was a source of great joy, and soon afterwards its endowments were increased by the appropriation of the funds of All Saints Cathedral to educational uses. The annual stipends both of Luther and of Melancthon were thus raised from 200 to 300 florins, and the former, in consideration of his past services, and many and increasing infirmities, was exempted from the burden of lecturing, and from all other academical functions. But Luther was so far restored to health at the end of February, that he was able to be the Elector's guest at Lochau, and on Quinquagesima Sunday, the 27th, to preach before him and his court, and the same evening perform the ceremony of uniting in marriage Philip, Duke of Pomerania, and Maria, the Elector's sister. It is related that by some accident one of the spousal rings slipped from his fingers, and rolled along the chapel floor. Luther exclaimed with emotion, "Satan! Satan! but thou shalt not attain thy wish," and then turning to the princely couple he pronounced with great emphasis the benediction, "Increase and multiply." It was customary that a blessing should be prayed for on the wedded pair the morning after the marriage, but Luther was prevented from the discharge of this duty; in the interval he had been suddenly seized with a swooning fit, and Bugenhagen acted as his substitute.

The Reformer had often said, that if union on the subject of the Lord's Supper could be accomplished between German Protestants, he should then be able with joy to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." Endeavours for this important union had never for a moment slumbered. In 1534, a conference between the Divines of the two parties had been held at Cassel, and had been attended by Melanc-

1536. thon. In the October of 1535, Luther had himself addressed separate letters to the preachers of Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Eslingen, inviting them to a conference, and he had communicated with John Frederic on the same subject. The cities, with the jealousy of democratic bodies, had objected to the Princes being mixed up with the affair at all; but Luther replied, that the approval of the Princes must have the effect of giving to the projected union greater stability: if, however, the Princes should be unwilling to bear their share in the matter, that should not stand in the way of achieving such a blessing as concord. Luther proposed in the first instance, Eisenach as the place of meeting; but as the time approached, he found himself "still faint and worn with his last illness," and requested, in a letter to Capito, that the theologians of the cities would not refuse to come as far as Grimma, three miles beyond Leipsic. But even so, he feared that the state of his health would prevent his attendance; but in that case, said he, "I shall be able to send and receive letters every day." In fact, his strength proved too feeble even for a journey to Grimma; and the theologians paid him the tribute of respect to extend their travels to Wittenberg itself, which some of them were curious to see, where, on the 22nd May, the conference was opened. Several of the Lutheran preachers had joined the Oberland theologians at the different towns they passed through, and by this means the controverted points were familiarly talked over in the friendly discussions of fellow travellers, the explanations of Myconius and Menius cleared away difficulties, and before arriving at Wittenberg, the way to harmony had been made plain. Melancthon could hardly believe the good news which Myconius and his other friends told him, and took them to Luther; and the
Sunday. May 21. evening of their arrival the theologians supped at the Augustine convent, and the conversation was protracted till mid-

night. The next day Capito and Bucer, at seven o'clock in the morning, paid a visit to Luther, and gave into his hands a statement of their doctrines. At three o'clock in the afternoon Bucer and Capito returned: the principal members of the Lutheran party were also present. Luther was resolved that nothing should be done except on free conviction; he stated that he would not touch on other points of Christian doctrine until concord had been attained on the Lord's Supper; that the question was not about words; the true doctrine was, that "the bread is the body of Christ, given and received in hand and mouth, as well by the godless as the godly." He condemned the epistles of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, recently published, and warned Bucer and his adherents to "act sincerely as in the sight of God, without guile." He required them to renounce their former error; and as they had been for some time advancing step by step towards the truth, so as to believe, first, that the elements were *spiritually* the body and blood of Christ, then, that they were Christ's true and natural body to his faithful followers, so now to acknowledge plenarily that "the godless as well as the godly takes in his heart and with his mouth, the true body and blood of Christ." On the 23rd the discussion was resumed; and Luther demanded, first of Bucer, and then of each of the other theologians of Bucer's party, a declaration of his faith on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Bucer stated, and the rest concurred in his statement, that "the true body and the true blood of Christ are in the Lord's Supper;" and that "the Sacrament depends not on the worthiness or unworthiness of the partaker, but on the word of God." Luther and the divines of his side withdrew to a private apartment, and it was determined "as out of one mouth" to propose further the explicit question, whether "as the name of God, used by an infidel, is

1536. May 22.

1536. yet God's name, and the Lord Jesus, kissed by Judas the traitor, is yet the Lord Jesus, so they held the body and blood of Christ, received by an unbeliever, to be still the body and blood of Christ." They returned, and Luther, with solemnity and earnestness graven on every feature of his countenance, put this question. The reply was given in the affirmative: and then Luther, addressing Bucer and his friends with "My lords and brethren," stated that they "owned and took them for dear brothers in Christ." Luther and Bucer shook hands, and after them all the theologians of both sides clasped one another's hands, and "with God-fearing supplications" thanked God for unity in the faith. Bucer and Capito wept for joy. The next morning agreement was attained on Baptism, as "the laver of regeneration," on absolution, school discipline, &c. On the 25th the Formula of Concord drawn up by Melancthon was read aloud; and it was decided that not only those present, but also the absent, should be invited to append their signatures; and in the evening Luther preached from Mark xvi. 15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." "I had often," Myconius says, "heard Luther preach before, but this time it seemed as if it was not Luther who spoke, but God himself thundered his word from heaven."*

The time from the close of the conference to the departure of Bucer and his friends, was a gala season at Wittenberg. The churches resounded with the Word of God. The Oberland theologians and the Wittenberg doctors preached in turn. In the evening of the day that Bucer preached, he supped with Luther. It is related that in the presence of the assembled guests, Luther congratulated him on his

* See, for the whole transaction, the accounts of Myconius and of Bernard, pastor of Frankfort, Walch. xvii. p. 2533—599; Bucer's Letter, Id. p. 2565, De Wette, iv. p. 691—4; Bret. iv. p. 75—599.

sermon—"He had made an admirable discourse; yet," he 1536.
added, "I am the better preacher of the two." The company seemed surprised by the frank avowal. Bucer at once assented, that "of course Luther was *much* the better preacher of the two." "Do not mistake me," Luther replied; "I am but a worm, and have never in my life delivered such a discourse as I heard from you to-day. But whenever I preach, I make a point of observing what kind of audience I have to address, and suit whatever I may say to their feelings and understanding. Now you, Bucer, soar too high; and, however acceptable your eloquence may be to the learned, it is far beyond the comprehension of the multitude. A preacher should resemble the mother, who, when her infant cries, bares her breast, and gives it the natural milk."

And thus the chapter in the history of Luther's life, which had begun in the dark clouds and portentous thunders of the Augsburg Diet, closed in the serene air and pulpit exhortations of the Wittenberg concord. The north and the south of Germany were now united in doctrinal harmony; and all the secular princes of northern Germany, with the exception only of Duke George and the Duke of Brunswick, had become Lutheran. Joachim of Brandenburg had died in July, 1535, and the new Elector was well inclined to the Reformation, and a little later professed himself a Protestant. The Margrave of Baden had embraced the evangelical faith. The Hanse towns were all Lutheran. In Denmark, a Lutheran, the Count of Holstein, had gained the throne against the Romanist faction. Wurtemburg had been added to the evangelical states; and by its geographical position, as well as by the moderation of Duke Ulric, seemed to form a link between the German and Swiss Protestants. England, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1534, had rejected the yoke of Rome; and in the following year the royal supremacy "in

1536. matters ecclesiastical as well as civil" had been established. The King of France and the King of England were both in negotiation with the Schmalkald allies; and the French court had entreated a visit from Melancthon in his character of theologian. Even in the citadel of Popery the promotion of such a man as Contareni to the cardinalate, proved the same movement to be going forward, which had long engaged contemplative minds in the alcoves of Venice. "At the Diet of Augsburg," said Luther, "our princes seem devoured and destroyed; they were really only the more vivified and invigorated. Everything that is to be strong must begin in weakness, as Christ says, 'My strength in your weakness.' Thus the roots of those trees which are to yield timber for houses, machines, and ships, are at first only slender threads. The kings of God, who shall one day judge angels, are sprung, as Job says, from a drop of milk. It is thus God works. 'Be not afraid, I have overcome.' 'I live, and you shall live.' On the other hand, man's works begin in strength to end in folly."

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE 30TH MAY, 1536, TO THE 18TH FEBRUARY, 1546.

The refusal of the Protestants to the overtures made them by Paul III., did not divert the Pontiff from his policy of summoning a council, which was absolutely necessary to dissipate the general idea of the insincerity of the Vatican, and was perseveringly demanded by the Emperor. Charles, on his return from his victorious African expedition, had written in very severe terms to the Protestants: his letter had been considered by the Schmalkald allies in the spring of 1536, and a deputation sent to deliver their answer. But now war with France was recommenced, and it was no longer expedient or practicable to carry things with a high hand, and rouse the enmity of his German subjects. Charles therefore passed from Naples to Rome, had an interview of seven hours' duration with the Pope, but resisted all his solicitations to make peace with Francis, in order to turn his arms with effect against the German heretics: he could not resign Milan. The conversation was next directed to the subject of the council: Mantua was retained as the place of meeting against the Protestant objections; but the clause, "according to the usage of former councils," was struck out. The Emperor was desirous that the diploma convoking the council should be got ready and published immediately, whilst he remained at Rome: Paul replied that it could not be prepared with such haste. On the 2nd June, however, the council was convoked to meet at Mantua on the 23rd

1536.

1536. May in the ensuing year, "for the destruction of heresy, the peace of Christendom, and the conversion of the infidels."* And from his camp in Savoy in July, Charles addressed fresh letters to the Protestants, in a much milder strain than he had used previously. The Romanist Princes were elated by the long-promised council being at last convoked. Duke George was writing "a big book about the Bishops," and was full of hopes that their irregularities would now be checked, and decorous manners and morality of life would again adorn the mitre. "A hard task this," Luther said, "to make Satan assent to God." The Reformer commented upon the council, as follows: "In this Bull of Paul, or rather of the cardinals, not the cardinal virtues, but the cardinals, capitals, heads of Satan, we are condemned already." "The Mantuan council will not have very many learned men, although it will greatly outnumber us in the mules, horses, and asses, carrying the greatest asses on their backs."

1537. The Schmalkald allies met very early in the spring at Schmalkald, to deliberate on the matter of the council now actually summoned. The Wittenberg theologians were to be present, and the principal divines from other parts of Germany were also to be in attendance. It was debated whether the papal nuncio should be allowed to appear before the alliance. Luther gave his answer in the affirmative, and this point was conceded against the judgment of John Frederic. On the question, which was again mooted, of resistance to the Emperor, Luther signed his verdict, that "if the Emperor, in a question not appertaining to the civil jurisdiction, such as the acceptance of a council, should appeal to force, in such a

* In another Bull, dated the 23rd September, Paul III. committed the Reformation of the State of Rome, "the head of Christendom, whence all other Christians are wont to learn good morals and godly ways," to five cardinals and three bishops.—Walch. xvi. p. 2322.

case resistance even to the Emperor would be allowable." 1537.
He was also requested by the Elector to draw up some theological articles, to serve as landmarks how far the Protestants might yield, and within what lines no concession must be made. Luther described the Mass in these articles as "abominable idolatry," and stated that the invocation of saints was idolatrous, and that all that came out of, or depended upon the Mass, was to be abhorred, and he gave characteristic prominence to the merits of Christ, and justification by faith alone. These articles were copied out by Spalatin and subscribed by Luther and thirty-five theologians, and on the 3rd January were inclosed by Luther to the Elector, who pronounced them to be "Christian, pure, and plain."

A little time before, Luther had been suffering from the gravel and stone; but after a long prostration of strength, his health was so far restored that he was able to undertake the journey to Schmalkald in the beginning of February, although the weather was very cold. On the 2nd February, Luther and his fellow-travellers reached Altenburg, and were entertained and lodged by Spalatin, whom the Reformer addressed in some Latin verses on the occasion. On Sexagesima Sunday, the 4th, Luther preached at Weimar, and complained, the attendants of the papal nuncio being among his audience, that the Kings and Bishops were greater foes to the Gospel than the Turks: and on the Monday following, the Elector took the road to Arnstadt, and Luther the road to Gotha, and on the 7th made his last day's journey to Schmalkald. He wrote thence on the 9th, that the Landgrave and the Duke of Wurtemburg had entered the town the previous day, and he was about to preach before the Princes in the parish church, which was so large that his voice would sound like "the squeak of a mouse." It is recorded that he preached three times at Schmalkald, but the

1537. last time in the Quæstor's residence, as he could not be heard in the Church.* He continued to suffer grievously from the stone; but on the 14th he writes to Jonas that "St. Valentine had cured him that night: not the St. Valentine, the idol of Epileptics, but the true and only Valentine, who makes all well who trust in Him." "He and his friends," he said, "had eaten bread with the Landgrave and the Duke of Wurtemburg, and found their bakers first-rate; and they had drunk wine with the deputies of Nuremberg." This Schmalkald convention, or, to use Luther's term, "council," was more numerously attended than any previous meeting of the Protestants: besides the Princes, the deputies of upwards of twenty-six cities were present, and the theologians numbered thirty-five. But in reference to the deliberations, Luther warned the Princes not to regard the summoning a council in a serious light at all, for it was not seriously meant; the Bull was a lie. True, there was business enough to employ a council; the Pope and his cardinals were the most rapacious of Church plunderers; the Cardinal of Mentz alone held three bishoprics in his grasp; but, when such were the mal-practices of Ecclesiastics, who could credit that they were sincere in desiring a council? "Be assured," he said, "of three things:—1. The Pope and Luther are not to be reconciled; 2. The Mantuan council is a subterfuge; 3. The Cardinal of Mentz is a knave."

On the 25th February, Peter Worst, Bishop of Aix, the nuncio, appeared in Schmalkald, and presented two epistles from the Pope to John Frederic, which the Elector refused to receive, and the nuncio on his part would not take back again, but left on the table. A somewhat bitter altercation

* Another of the preachers was Urban Regius, who preached at great length, and Luther meeting him as he came from the pulpit, said smiling, "Hoc neque Urbanum neque Regium est."

followed, which has afforded Pallavicini an opportunity to 1537.
style the Schmalkald convention "an assembly of beasts," to which Seckendorf retorts, that it would have deserved the name, if credit had been given to that little fox or ape sent from Rome. The nuncio, in his arguments with the Elector, accused the Protestants of schism, and cited St. Paul's reproof of the Corinthians: "Now this I say, Every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." "It is the Church of Rome," the Protestants replied, which says, "I am of Cephas." Some of the Protestants were for acceding to the council conditionally, that is, if the Pope were not judge; but the majority foresaw that the least concession would be turned to good account by the Papists, and therefore determined to reject the council entirely. The answer of the alliance was given on the 2nd March, and complained that in the Bull no mention was made of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses, which had been acknowledged by Pope Adrian; that the Evangelicals were branded as heretics, and so their cause was pre-judged; that the Pope arrogated the office of judge, whereas his true character was that of culprit; and that the place of meeting was beyond the limits of Germany. The Book of Renunciation was published on the 5th March, and was translated into various languages, and forwarded to most of the Princes of Europe.

As regards other debated points, Vice-Chancellor Held, the Imperial ambassador, required of the Protestants either to afford aid against the Turks, or to succour the Emperor in his war with France. They refused compliance, unless peace was assured them at home, the judicial processes before the Imperial Chamber suspended, and liberty granted them to receive all their co-religionists into the alliance. The ambassador replied with so much harshness as to determine the

1537. Princes on making the best provision they could for their own security. They renewed negotiations with France, and admitted Duke Henry of Saxony, brother of Duke George, into the confederation. Among the Protestants themselves there was some debate on doctrinal points, but without much heat of controversy; and the Swiss Protestants tendered proposals by Bucer, with a view to concord with their German brethren on the subject of the Lord's Supper. The convention closed with the publication of an edict respecting the sufficient maintenance of ministers, and the endowment of schools and hospitals, to which the sequestrated Church property, rescued from spoliation according to a petition preferred by the theologians, was to be devoted. So firm was the cohesion between the members of the alliance, that it decided the nuncio and the Romanist princes to form a similar combination; and Maimburg dates the origin of the Popish league of the south to this period, although it was not actually set on foot until the following year.

But before the convention broke up, Luther had been obliged to return to Wittenberg. Melancthon had just written to "Doctoress Catherine" of her husband's improved health,
Feb. 18. and Luther had himself preached on the Sunday morning what Melancthon terms a "very clear sermon," when, on the evening of the same day, he was seized with a violent attack of the stone, and endured such agonies as he had never suffered before. The Elector sent to Erfurth for the physician George Sturtz, and all the Princes were unremitting in their attentions to the Reformer. The Duke of Wurtemburg prescribed for him juniper-berries boiled in wine and water. The Landgrave of Hesse, at the very time that the nuncio was waiting to have an interview with him, quitted his lodging, under the nuncio's eyes, to make inquiries for Luther. The Elector of Saxony left nothing untried that was likely to add to the Reformer's

comfort, or to serve as the means of his recovery. "If it is 1537.
God's will that you should die," he said to Luther, "your wife shall be my wife, and your children my children: but for his name and word's sake, I trust God will be gracious to us, dear father, and grant us your life." Luther replied, that God's will was the "all-best." "O, thou true God, my Lord Jesus Christ," he ejaculated, "thy name has so often helped me, help me now, my dear God. Thou knowest I have taught thy word with truth and diligence. If it be for the glory of thy name, make me better; if not, close my eyes. My Lord Christ, how glorious to die by the sword for thy word! Now I die a foe to thy foes, and under the Pope's ban. I thank thee that I die in the knowledge of thy truth." The Elector turned away his face to hide his tears. On the 26th February, however, Luther was so far better that John Frederic sent him away on his return home in his own carriage, in company with Sturtz the physician and his intimate friends Bugenhagen and Spalatin. The disease had been aggravated by solicitude for the cause of the Reformation; and as he was leaving Schmalkald the Reformer looked back on the building in which the confederates held their sittings, and exclaimed, "Our Lord God fill you with hatred of the Pope." They journeyed along a hilly track towards Tambach, and reached that village before nightfall. The jolting of travelling, the fresh air and change of scene, were not without their service on Luther's frame; at Tambach he relished a simple supper and drank some red wine, and in the course of the night he experienced considerable relief, and wrote to his "heart-dearest Philip," "This Tambach is a Phanuel wherein God has appeared to me. From this example let us learn to pray, and to dare to expect aid from heaven. May God trample Satan with his leagued monsters of Rome beneath his feet! Amen. Given the third hour of the night." The

1537. next morning Luther wrote to Kate, "I was as one dead, and commended myself and my children to God and my good lord, as if I should never behold them again. I felt sore pity for you, and had no hope of recovery; but prayers have been offered to God so fervently for me, mixed with many tears, that God has shown me mercy, and I feel as one born anew. Therefore praise God, and let the dear children and cousin Lena thank the true Father. It is only of his mercy that you have not lost me. The good Prince did all he could, and tried his very utmost, but all would not do; even your skill would have done nothing. But God, through the prayers of his people, has wrought wonders upon me this night. I write this because the good Prince has ordered the Prefect to send you to meet me, which is now unnecessary: God has so richly holpen me, that I trust soon to come to you full of joy. We shall sleep at Gotha to-night." The tidings of Luther's improvement in health were received by the Protestants with public rejoicings, and by command of the Princes, thanksgivings were offered to God in the church of Schmalkald, and it was ordered that the prayers before appointed should be continued that his life might be spared to the glory of God and the comfort of his Church.

By the Elector's wish the road through Erfurth was avoided on account of the ill-feeling entertained by the Archbishop of Mentz to Luther, and the road through Gotha was taken; Gotha was reached on Thursday, the 29th February; and here Bucer and Lycosthenes, who had been deputed by the Oberland churches to the Schmalkald convention, overtook the Reformer, and placed in his hands the letters from the Swiss earnestly entreating unity on the subject of the Lord's Supper. But Luther replied that unity was impossible until identity of doctrine and belief should be attained. "I am a man," he said, "who know not how to semble or dissemble." At

Gotha the malady returned with so much force, that the 1537.
Reformer again prepared himself for immediate death; and having made his will in the journey from Schmalkald, gave it into Bugenhagen's hand with his last prayer, in which he thanked God that he had given him strength to "assail the Papacy, the enemy of God, of Christ, and the Gospel. It must be the consolation of his dear Kate," he said, "that they had lived together for twelve years in so much happiness. She had been an excellent wife—nay, more than a wife, a servant to him." And he commended her and his children to those present. "Tell the Princes," he continued, "to trust God as regards his Gospel, and confidently execute what the Holy Spirit may suggest. I do not prescribe them any particular line of policy. I have earnestly committed them in prayer to the Lord; and although they are wanting in some points of Christian virtue, I trust that God will never let them relapse into papist blasphemy." After a few words about his opponents, whose calumnies he had intended to answer if his life had been spared, he resigned himself to the expected stroke, saying, "I now commend my soul into the hands of my Father, and of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have preached and confessed on earth. Amen." But in this extremity deliverance was again vouchsafed, and he was able to return to Wittenberg soon afterwards, although in the most feeble condition, and by slow degrees regained his usual health and strength.

In the year 1536, a memorable conversation had passed between Luther and Melancthon on the subject of justification and good works: Melancthon questioning whether justification is not by the creation of the new man in the heart, not simply by faith, but by all the gifts and virtues of the Spirit; and such, he thought, was the meaning of Augustin. Luther, on the contrary, affirmed that we are just before God solely

1537. by the gratuitous imputation of Christ's righteousness by faith. "We are not justified by works before faith," Luther said, "nor by works after faith; but we are accounted just through faith the gift of God, and the justified man is a new character, and the new character does new acts. The sun is not the sun because it shines, but because it is the sun it *must* shine; the Christian, because he is a Christian, *must* live to God's glory." In his sick chamber at Schmalkald, Luther had lamented to John Frederic the deviation of Melancthon and others from the strict evangelical creed, and his words did not fall on deaf ears. In the following May, when Luther's health was nearly re-established, the Elector of Saxony was at Wittenberg, and by the mouth of Bruck addressed the assembled professors to the following effect:—"I have heard with pain that Melancthon and Cruciger use different language from Luther on the subject of justification and good works, and I find in a new edition of the Augsburg Confession, that a change of terms has been made without the consent of all those who subscribed that Confession, which is utterly unjustifiable. If such things take place when you, Luther, and I are alive, what may we not expect after our decease?" and, in conclusion, he exhorted Luther to persist in upholding the pure scriptural faith in the university.

During the latter part of the year Luther again became Bugenhagen's substitute in the church and parish. Bugenhagen had been summoned to Denmark, and was chosen to place the Danish crown on the head of the Count of Holstein, and declare him king, under the title of Christian III., and the coronation was followed by very important ecclesiastical changes—the displacement of the bishops, and the establishment of the Lutheran worship and church government throughout Denmark. The chief idea in Luther's mind con-

tinued to be the council, and he amused himself in his lighter 1537.
moments with composing his "Question from the holy order of Card-players to the Council at Mantua," and with burlesquing the Romanist fiction of the donation of Constantine, and the legend or lie of St. John Chrysostom. His "Preface to the Council held at Gangra in Paphlagonia," and his Preface and Epilogue to the "Letters of John Huss, written from his prison at Constance," were more serious works for the edification of the fathers of the Mantuan Council. The next year he enjoyed, in his own language, "a sabbath from the 1538.
stone," and was not vexed so much as usually by the buffetings of Satan.

The most remarkable of his compositions at this period are his comments on the 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters of St. John's Gospel, and also on the first eighteen chapters of St. Matthew. "Philip and I," Luther wrote to Jonas, in April, "are wearied out with business and disputes whilst you are absent. According to my time of life, I should deserve my discharge and the liberty of spending old age in watching the marvels of God in the increase of trees, flowers, herbs, and birds; but my former sins do not permit me to taste such pleasure." At this time there was an outburst in Wittenberg of Antinomian teaching, led by one of Luther's friends and disciples. It will be remembered that John Agricola, of Eisleben, had impugned Melancthon's view of the law of Moses as given in his Visitation Book, and subsequently he had shown himself a rival to Luther himself, by choosing the same topics to treat of from the pulpit as those recently handled by Luther, as though to outdo the great Reformer. Small in stature, big with importance, his walk, his voice, his every gesture an index of his immoderate vanity, little Grickel, as Luther called him, was the very person to rush into a similar eccentric career to that pursued by Carlstadt.

1538. Luther had himself before requested that Agricola would lecture in the University, and in 1536 this request had been complied with; but immediately on discovering what principles he maintained, the Reformer addressed a letter to him directing that his lectures should be discontinued, unless the University should authorize his proceeding with them. Luther, moreover, at once set to work to counteract the poisonous errors which "little Grickel" had been disseminating. He publicly maintained doctrines diametrically opposed to Antinomianism in several successive disputations; and in the beginning of the next year he published a writing in the epistolary form "Against the Antinomians." "Popery itself," he declared, "was a less evil than a heresy which separated justification from sanctification." Luther's courage and exertions increased with every addition to his trials. "I am a worn-out old man," said he, "spent with toil; but I get young again every day, that is, new sects spring up, to resist which I have need of a new youth. But this is a decisive proof that we are the elect of Heaven, and have the true Word of God, that we are assailed by so many sects springing up from amongst ourselves, to say nothing of the Papists and my private conflicts with Satan, and the contempt of God's Word amongst us." Somewhat later, Agricola was brought to trial for his heterodox opinions, by the Elector of Saxony; but before the verdict had been pronounced, Agricola made his escape to Berlin, whither he had been invited by the Elector of Brandenburg. Efforts were made by that Prince to reconcile Agricola and the Wittenberg theologians, and it ended in a recantation by the former of his dangerous tenets, which Luther accepted "with much distrust of its sincerity."

Luther was also much annoyed at this time by the appearance of some scurrilous verses from the pen of Simon Lemnius,

a member of a small knot of poets of no very decent fame, to 1538.
which Sabinus, the son-in-law of Melancthon, likewise belonged. The verses in question were more complimentary to the Elector of Mentz, and the leaders of the Romanist party, than to the Elector of Saxony or Dr. Luther. Melancthon himself was rector of the University during the summer in which these verses made their appearance, and the fault of their publication was therefore imputed by many to him; but Philip ingenuously acknowledged that he had trusted the statements of his son-in-law as to the innocence of the verses, without having himself read them. But when the affair created a hubbub, Lemnius made his escape from Wittenberg by the aid, as it was supposed, of Sabinus, which involved Melancthon in fresh suspicion; and, after his flight, Lemnius published a new edition of his lampoons, in which no measure was observed in his abuse of the members of the evangelical phalanx. Luther took up the matter with great warmth, and placarded a counter-writing entitled "A Programme against the infamous Verses of Simon Lemnius," in which, from the "scandalous poetaster," he passed to the Elector of Mentz himself, and painted his character in his most severely truthful style. "To praise Bishop Albert was to make a Saint out of the devil: the Dirt-bishop was a false perjured man." The whole house of Brandenburg was roused by this publication. The Duke of Prussia expostulated with Luther: the Elector of Brandenburg complained to John Frederic: even the Landgrave of Hesse reprobated Luther's vehemence. "It is not meet," John Frederic replied to the Landgrave, "either to forget Luther's merits, or the demerits of the Elector of Mentz." The Reformer, in his defence, quoted the saying of a prince of the house of Brandenburg, that he would not acknowledge the Archbishop as a kinsman. The affair was closed by Lemnius being formally expelled from the University,

1538. and a mild admonition from the Elector to Luther to use more caution in his censures for the future.

The Mantuan Council had been first prorogued on the ground that the Duke of Mantua would not allow the Pope any legal jurisdiction in his city, and then had been transferred to Vicenza, where, at last, in the summer of 1538, three cardinals made their appearance. Luther's incredulity of the Pope's sincerity continued as strong as ever. It could not, however, be disguised that the proclamation of a council by Paul III., and the rejection of it by the Protestants, had changed the relation in which the latter stood to the Emperor. The Nuremberg peace had only been provisional, till a council should be summoned. The peace of Cadan had not even been assented to by Charles himself, but was simply an agreement between the Schmalkald allies and Ferdinand. At the same time, therefore, that the Protestants had repudiated the proposed council, they had defied the power not only of Rome, but of the Emperor; and allowing that the whole business of the council should begin and end in duplicity, still the crisis was an important one for the Reformation. Under these circumstances a meeting of the Schmalkald allies was held at Brunswick towards the end of March, to deliberate on topics of common interest, and to take into consideration the demands of the Emperor for assistance against the Turks, who were still hovering on the Austrian frontiers, and in the preceding year had inflicted a decisive defeat on Ferdinand. Luther deputed Dr. Jonas as his representative to this convention; but he had given his own opinion very decidedly to the Elector that the Emperor's demand ought to be complied with. "His Grace," he said, "must consider the poor multitude exposed to the fury of the Turks, and it could not be expected the Papist arms alone would have any good fortune, unless his succours should go with them, as Jehoshaphat went with the

army of Ahab: his conscience would smite him to leave his 1538.
brethren to suffer; they ought rather, like good comrades—man and wife, father and children—to bear the sweet and the sour together, and God would know how to find his own even in death." But such advice was far from being acceptable to the Schmalkald allies; they looked around and saw danger on every side, and determined to send fresh embassies to the kings of England and France, to enlist their support and co-operation in withstanding the designs of the Emperor and Pontiff.

At the same time the Papists were not idle. They met first at Nuremberg, and then at Spires; and under the fostering wing of the Vice-Chancellor Held, framed a holy league which was signed at Nuremberg the 10th June. Henry Duke of Brunswick was appointed leader of this league in Lower, and the Dukes of Bavaria in Upper Germany; its objects specifically embraced mutual assistance to prevent the evangelical doctrines from entering the dominions of any of its members; although intended to be kept a profound secret, it soon transpired, and added to the alarm of the Protestants. Another and a yet greater danger seemed to threaten the Protestants from the reconciliation which took place about the same time between the Emperor and the French monarch. Paul III., besides his pretensions to reforming the Papacy—although, as Luther said, "he made war on warts and neglected ulcers,"—was ambitious of the scarce inferior merit of being the peace-maker of Christendom. He negotiated with both Francis and Charles; made arrangements for a meeting between them in his own presence at Nice; and early in the summer, notwithstanding his advanced age, repaired thither himself, and laboured to persuade the rival monarchs to accord one another the meeting. His persuasions were without effect, but he discussed the matters in dispute first

1538. with one and then with the other—carried to and fro propositions, objections, and solutions, and by dint of unwearying zeal succeeded, before the end of June, in effecting a reconciliation. Shortly afterwards the ship in which Charles was sailing for Spain was driven on the coast of France, and Francis, seizing the opportunity of displaying his fearless gallantry, without an instant's hesitation paid a visit to the Emperor on board his ship, who, in return, was entertained by Francis, at Aigues-mortes; and, by a continued reciprocity of courtesies, the pacification of Nice seemed to acquire the stability of personal friendship. Towards the end of the year Charles took advantage of the generous and kind feelings of the French king, and made a direct journey through his territories to the Low Countries, where the city of Ghent was in revolt. His entire route resembled a triumphal procession; his entertainment in Paris was in the most lavish style of the magnificence of that age, and he on his part was profuse in his professions of cordiality, and promised the king's second son the investiture of the duchy of Milan. When, however, Ghent had been humbled, and the Low Countries secured, Charles turned round on his too credulous rival, and denied that he had made a promise which it so ill-suited his successful ambition to fulfil. The old rancour of Francis was now inflamed to a higher pitch than ever: his wounded pride chafed at the thought of his simplicity and generosity being publicly made the dupe to craft and falsehood.

1539. At the beginning of the next year, a meeting of the Schmalkald allies was held at Frankfort, and the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg acted as mediators between the Protestants and the Imperial ambassador. The clouds that had hovered round the fortunes of the Reformation were again blown away for a time: Charles was no longer in a condition to rouse the turbulence of his German subjects. After

a discussion of two months it was at length arranged that the 1539.
Nuremberg peace should be extended for fifteen months longer, within which period chosen theologians from either side should meet at Nuremberg to adjust religious differences; and the proceedings before the Imperial Chamber, which had hitherto continued without intermission, were to be suspended; and a diet was to assemble at Worms, to consider the best means of opposing the Turks, against whom the Protestants engaged to send their contingents. If the Emperor failed to ratify these Articles within six months, the Nuremberg peace was to remain in force in its literal sense, but during the six months no new members were to be enrolled in the Schmalkald Confederation. Paul III. was indignant at these Frankfort Articles: besides the reluctance with which he witnessed any approach to a reconciliation between the Emperor and the Protestants, a conference of learned men to settle questions of religion was tacitly to ignore the Papacy; and no mention whatever had been made of the Council. The Pope, therefore, used all his influence with Charles to prevent the ratification of the Articles, and required him to proclaim a Diet to avoid the proposed theological discussion. Charles, however, had his own ends in view; and his policy was to temporize, and to keep both the Pope and Protestants, as far as could be, in good humour. From this period, however, there is a marked change in the manner in which Luther speaks of the Emperor. When war seemed probable, the old question of the lawfulness of resisting the Emperor had been revived. Luther would not exactly say in downright terms that resistance was lawful, but he distinguished between the Emperor acting as Emperor, and the Emperor acting as the soldier and freebooter of the Pope. "If," he said, "the Emperor mixes himself up with the warfare of the Turks and the Pope, he must himself look to the conse-

1539. quences." He continued: "The Emperor is not absolute; he governs Germany in conjunction with the Princes, and if he attempt to depose the Electors and govern alone, such an infringement of the law is not to be borne." Of Charles himself he spoke as follows: "He is imbued with the faith of the Pope, the Cardinals, Italians, Spaniards, and Saracens; he is a perfidious and treacherous man, and no German." Luther had never said so much before.

Meantime, two days before the arrangement of the Frankfort truce, George Duke of Saxony had expired in his sixty-eighth year, and his death, particularly at such a time, was felt as a severe blow by the Romanist faction. His last years had been clouded by domestic sorrow. In 1534 his wife had died and his daughter. His son Duke John had disappointed the hopes which the Landgrave, to whose sister he was married, had at one time conceived of him, and was not only treading in his father's steps as a bigoted Papist, but promised even to surpass him in virulent hatred of the Gospel. "Give this message to Luther from me," he said to Luke Cranach, the painter, "that if he has found my father iron, he shall find me steel." On receiving this message Luther loudly laughed, and replied, "Tell Duke John to engross his mind with one thought, how his soul may be saved; for I am well assured he will never survive his father." The current superstition declared, as Luther was wont to say of himself, "My predictions do not often turn out false," and the words of the Reformer fell on the ears of Duke John as his death knell. Shortly afterwards his health sank under a long-continued habit of intoxication, and he died in his thirty-ninth year. Duke John was childless, but another son, Frederic, remained to Duke George; whom, notwithstanding his being of imbecile mind, he married to the daughter of Ernest Count of
Jan. 27. Mansfeld, and in January, 1539, solemnised the nuptials at

Dresden with "bacchanalian rejoicings." But in less than 1539.
a month the wedding of the young Duke was succeeded by his death. Duke George fondly clung to the hope that his widow might prove pregnant; when that was found to be delusive, his health, which had for some time been declining, rapidly sank under the accumulation of trials, and, feeling his own end to be near, he turned to the project of stipulating with his brother to bequeath him his dominions, on the condition that he should return to the Romish faith. Councillors were despatched to Duke Henry with this proposal. "Here is Satan," Duke Henry remarked, "proffering me all the kingdoms of the earth, if I will fall down and worship him." The dying Duke now resolved to devise his dominions to the Emperor and King Ferdinand. A will to this effect was prepared and brought to him for his signature, but the April 17.
stroke of death had come beforehand, and he could only faintly articulate the word "chancellor" as that officer appeared with the document in his hand. When he was evidently dying, a priest had exhorted him to call on St. James. "Call rather," said John Lindenau and Frederic Œlsnitz, two noblemen who stood by his bedside, "on Jesus Christ the only Saviour." The Duke raised his eyes to heaven: "Help, thou true Saviour Jesus Christ: pity me: save me by thy bitter sufferings and thy death."

Luther had predicted "Duke George does not cease to persecute the Word of God, he gets worse and worse; but I shall live to see his whole branch rooted out, and after that shall preach the Gospel at Leipsic." The evening of the Duke's death Duke Henry entered Dresden. The people came out to meet him bearing torch lights, and thronged round his carriage with so much eagerness that the servants could not approach to help him to alight. Never had there been such rejoicing in Dresden. Luther himself preached the

1539. first evangelical sermon at Leipsic on Whitsunday eve, in the
May 24. presence of Duke Henry and his cousin John Frederic, in the very castle of Pleissenberg in which twenty years before he had disputed on the eve of the Reformation with Dr. Eck. He was in very feeble health, and told his crowded audience that he was weak in his head, and therefore could not trust himself to say much, but should keep to the text of the Gospel, which would be read on the morrow. The following Whit Sunday Luther was too ill to preach in the morning; so Dr. Jonas became his substitute: but he preached in the afternoon in St. Thomas' Church to an immense audience; even the window-ledges being thronged with listeners. And the next day the Duke and the Elector from Leipsic proceeded to Grimma, taking Luther with them in their carriage. The advice which the Reformer gave Duke Henry was to interdict the private mass in the monasteries, but to tolerate the existing monks until they should either voluntarily leave their convents or die out: he earnestly exhorted him to institute a visitation throughout his territories, and as Duke Henry himself was old and weak, he made application to Catherine his duchess to urge him on in this work. The Bishops of Merseburg and Meissen claimed the right of instituting a visitation as exclusively belonging to the Episcopal office; but Luther's influence prevailed. In July and August a visitation was made through the Duke's dominions in Misnia and Thuringia; the Augsburg Confession and Apology were made the standards of doctrine, and the evangelical Church system was everywhere established. The populace were found to be favourable to the Gospel, but many of the nobles opposed it, and after all the efforts of Luther, "five hundred poisonous Papists," as he complained, were left in their parsonages. His time and attention were engrossed in finding fit persons for the vacant cures, and he

pressed for a second visitation to provide more effectually for 1539.
the pure preaching of the Word of God.

These events told with great effect beyond the circle of the Duke of Saxony's dominions. The net-work of the holy league was broken when it was only just woven, so that Henry of Brunswick exclaimed — "I had rather God in heaven should have died than Duke George." King Ferdinand demanded that Lutheranism should not be established by the new Duke against his brother's known wish: the Emperor hinted at making good any defects in the will which had been framed, though not signed, by his own arbitrary power. At such a season the support of the Schmalkald league proved of momentous service; and the fact that Duke Henry could be furnished with an effective army at the smallest possible notice, kept Ferdinand in check, and turned the Emperor's threat into idle jest. Even Luther's words were warlike: "If," said he, "they blow too hard at the fire, the sparks will fly in their faces." He was not without apprehensions of an outburst of intestine war. "The grapes and figs," he said, "which grow on that goodly tree, Papal holiness, are lies, deceit, and murder." And he addressed a circular letter to the clergy, requesting them to offer up prayers against the Turk, and that the Almighty would ward off from the land the horrors of a religious war.

Another important event rapidly followed the establishment of the Reformation in the Duchy of Saxony. Joachim II., the youthful Elector of Brandenburg, had been trained in the most rigidly Roman creed. His first wife had been the daughter of Duke George of Saxony, and after her death he had espoused a princess of Poland. But on one occasion he had seized the opportunity, when he happened to be at Wittenberg, to hear Luther preach. He expressed his admiration with enthusiasm; and his mother's conversion and the harsh

1539. treatment to which it had exposed her, added their weight to the bias thus given him towards the Reformation. On his father's decease he seemed to vacillate in his religious opinions for some time, notwithstanding the majority of his subjects were already Lutherans. But on the last day of October, he publicly received the Sacrament in both kinds, with his court and many of his nobility, in the Castle church at Berlin; and the next day the citizens of Berlin, in great crowds, followed his example, and received the Sacrament after the Evangelical mode, in the church of St. Nicholas. This public avowal was the signal for ecclesiastical changes throughout the Electorate. A visitation was set on foot, and a "Church Ordering" was prepared and submitted to Luther for his judgment, who, however, was unable to give it his decided approval. In all points of doctrine there was a thorough agreement with the Evangelical teaching; but in ceremonies and rites, as little deviation as possible was made from the Romish customs. Thus the Brandenburg Reformation showed a lingering tendency to Rome, as the Reformation of Wurtemberg and Hesse showed a leaning to Switzerland; and with similar caution the Elector Joachim himself kept aloof from the Schmalkald Alliance, and took up a middle position between the Princes of the Evangelical and the Romanist parties.

About this time, also, the irresistible tide of opinion overcame the bigotry of the Archbishop of Mentz, and in requital for some pecuniary indulgences, he granted to the inhabitants of his Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience. All these changes in Germany, showed the increase of Protestant influence just at a crisis when a religious war seemed imminent. Nor was there on the part of the Romanist princes any of that alertness which would have encouraged the Emperor and Ferdinand to engage in a struggle with a closely

united confederacy. At the Diet of Worms, which was held 1539.
in June, the opposition to levying troops against the Turks was even led by the Romanist party. Moreover, the council, which had been transferred to Vicenza, was now indefinitely prorogued. And although Henry of England, whom Luther accused of wishing to "make a religion of his own, for his own ends, like Antiochus," could not be induced, by an embassage despatched to him by the German Protestants, to concur in the Evangelical doctrines, so as to become Protector of the Alliance,—and indeed by the disgrace and fall of Cromwel, and through the charms of Catherine Howard, the progress of the Reformation was much impeded in England—yet it was, on the whole, with greatly augmented confidence, that the Evangelical States met at Arnstadt towards the end of November, and determined on sending an embassy to Charles to implore the ratification of the Frankfort truce, and the appointment of the conference of learned men, for the settlement of religious differences.

Luther enjoyed this year, considering his age and infirmities, more than his customary health, and produced a work on "Councils and the Church," which exhausted its subject, and may be ranked amongst his most valuable writings. "The sign of a true Church," he stated, "was, above all, the possession of the pure word of God, on which the right use of the Sacraments, the power of the keys, the ordination of ministers, the efficacy of prayer, all depended. As Nicolas Lyra had affirmed, the Church did not consist of prelates, but of real believers. If the decrees of councils were really binding, then, he said, according to the decree of the first Apostolic Council, nothing ought to be eaten with the blood, nor which had been strangled. But the contrary custom was universal among Christians; and the seven years of penance enjoined by the Council of Nice, and the prohibition of becoming a

1539. soldier after baptism, had equally fallen into disuse. And, instead of the Pope having power to convoke a council, the true office of a council would be to put down the tyranny which the Pope had usurped." In many respects the year was one of great trial: in the spring a scarcity, which was severely felt at Wittenberg, prevailed throughout Germany; a terrible frost, which continued as late as the beginning of May, bound up the rivers, and kept the water-mills at a stand-still, whilst the nobility and landowners, to aggravate prices yet further, held back the corn. So deep and wide-spread was the distress, that the famine-prices drove the poorer students of Wittenberg from the University. Luther came forward in this exigency, sharply reproved the avaricious corn-holders, and made application to John Frederic to throw open his stores for the relief of his famishing subjects, and to check the cupidity of his nobles by legislative enactments. "Dear Doctor," the Elector replied, "divide whatever is mine with me." In the autumn the plague followed in the footprints of famine, which, although not so general as in some previous years, proved most fatal wherever it fell. Dr. Jonas fled before its approach. Luther, as ever, walked amidst the ravages of disease, invisibly shielded against harm. But an accident, which must have been attended with fatal consequences, had nearly befallen himself and Kate. He had built a new cellar, and having paid it a visit of inspection with Kate, had just come up the steps, when the brickwork fell in behind him. This new cellar seems to have been part of a series of improvements carrying on in the old convent; and this is one, amongst other signs, of Luther's more flourishing pecuniary circumstances. About this time, the estate, or farm, of Zuhlsdorf, near Borna, came into his possession, probably by purchase, and was intended as a retreat for Kate in her approaching days of widowhood; and she forthwith en-

tered on her duties as mistress, and took the greatest interest 1539.
in superintending her new property. His own decease was anticipated by Luther with increasing eagerness, in proportion as the time seemed to draw nearer. It is related, that, during a visit which he paid in June to the aged Margravine of Brandenburg at Lichtenberg, the conversation at supper fell on longevity. "Dear Doctor," said the Margravine, "I hope and trust that you will live long; you may live forty years yet, if it be God's will." "Alas!" Luther replied, "might I have my wish, it would be a short happy hour, and to be gone."

The Deputation, sent by the Protestants to the Emperor, 1540.
had an interview with Charles at Ghent on the 24th February, and although courteously received and dismissed, failed to obtain the ratification of the Frankfort truce. They brought back the Imperial answer to the allies, who met again at Schmalkald, together with their theologians. But Luther was excused from attendance by the Elector, on account of his age and infirmities. And this exemption proved a great boon to him under the dangerous illness of Kate from fever at this period. When all others despaired of her life, Luther persisted in demanding her from God, and by the power of his prayers she was snatched from the jaws of death. Luther speaks of her recovery as a resurrection and a miracle. On the 5th March, he wrote that she was just able to creep about at last upon her hands. "My lord Kate," he wrote to Melancthon, "salutes you reverently, and sends her thanks that you left me at home." Luther himself was not free from the old complaint of the violent ringing in the head, and suffered increasingly from weakness. He showed other signs of the advance of age: he was fond of dilating on past scenes; and gave his friends at his table, Mathesius says, a full and most interesting account of the famous Diet of Worms. He still continued to lecture, as

1540. his strength would allow, on the book of Genesis; and this year is memorable for another revision of the German Bible, which was completed in the course of two years with considerable improvements, and made the third revised copy of Luther's version.* With incredible joy Luther heard in the autumn of the martyrdom of his old friend Robert Barnes, or Anthony the Englishman, as he was called at Wittenberg, who had been the chief agent of Thomas Cromwel in his correspondence with the Germans, and after Cromwel's execution was burnt at Smithfield for heresy, together with Jerome and Gerrard, by the arbitrary "King Heinz." "Thanks, praise, and honour to God," Luther exclaimed, "that in our time we have seen and heard of Christians led to martyrdom, that is, made saints in heaven, from among those who have eaten and drunk with us. To think that Christ our Lord should be so nigh to us, in our house, and at our board,—should eat, drink, speak, and live with us, by his dear martyrs and precious saints!"

The exclamation had fallen from Melancthon's lips as he quitted Wittenberg for Schmalkald, "We have lived amid conferences, and we shall die amid them." His mind was extremely depressed by an event, reluctantly acquiesced in by Luther and himself, but fraught with latent evil to the Reformation—the second marriage of Philip of Hesse whilst his first wife, who had borne him several children, was still living. The conduct of Luther and his colleagues in this notorious case of bigamy has ever been regarded as the greatest blot

* Three copies on parchment, on each of which 340 skins were expended, were printed for the Princes of Anhalt: a magnificent copy on median paper was presented to John Frederic. Luther was obliged to complain to the Elector of the injustice of a publisher at Leipsic, who, now that the Reformation was established there, turned from issuing Romanist tracts to the more lucrative employment of printing the German Bible.

upon their characters. Philip of Hesse had sent Bucer to 1540.
them, with a written petition demanding permission to marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first, and with directions to make a private *vivâ voce* statement of the urgent reasons which impelled him to such an irregular step. These reasons were made known to Luther and Melancthon under the seal of the confessional, and they have not transpired, except that the Landgrave charged the Landgravine, a daughter of Duke George, with drunkenness, from which, and from other causes, her person had become so offensive to him that he had long been leading an impure life, from which, out of concern for his soul's salvation, he was most anxious to be delivered. The epistle, addressed by the theologians to the Landgrave in reply to his petition, began with warning him that the Divine appointment of marriage from the beginning restricted the union to one wife: "they twain shall be one flesh;" a restriction which had been expressly reinforced by the Saviour himself. Cogent arguments were added why the Landgrave should assent to this universal law. Then came the admission, according to the views consistently maintained and professed by Luther and Melancthon in their other writings, that peculiar circumstances might warrant a special dispensation. It was matter of joy that the Prince of Hesse was grieved at his past life of impurity and adultery, which the most terrible judgments of Heaven never failed to visit. And after such a preamble, the permission sought was granted, on condition that the double marriage should be kept a profound secret, to prevent scandal, as well as to preclude such an exceptional case being strained into a precedent. The behaviour of the theologians is the more exposed to censure, because John Frederic, with unflinching straightforwardness, condemned the proceedings of Philip of Hesse without the least reservation.

1540. From the conference at Schmalkald Melancthon, with his mind full of fears and solicitude, passed to Rotenburg, and there attended the private nuptials of Philip of Hesse
March 3. with Margaret Von Sala. Rumours of this transaction soon became rife, notwithstanding Luther's precautions and admonitions to all those concerned in the matter to use the strictest secresy. Margaret had been maid of honour to the Landgrave's sister, the widow of Duke John, at Rochlitz, where Philip had seen her, and had become deeply enamoured at the very first sight. The Landgrave's sister was indignant at the marriage. His first wife, Christina, had given her sanction to this second union, but her kinsmen were exasperated by it. Duke Henry of Saxony, her uncle, and the Elector of Brandenburg her brother-in-law, both took up her cause with ardour. But this was far from being the worst, for Henry of Brunswick and the Papists saw their own advantage in this flagrant transaction, and were resolved to extract from it some service to Popery. And it was impossible to predict what influence the affair might have in a country like Germany, split up into a number of jealous principalities. The Landgrave himself was not without apprehensions of serious consequences; and, with a view to securing aid should any attack be made upon his dominions, prevailed upon the Protestants to hold a deliberation at Eisenach, in which he was successful in obtaining a conditional promise of assistance from his allies.

Melancthon was on his way to the scene of these deliberations when, brooding over this unhappy affair, his fears and scruples brought on a sickness just as he had reached Weimar, which laid him nigh to death's door. Intelligence of his state was conveyed to Wittenberg, and Luther, in the Elector's
July 2. carriage, hastened to Weimar. He found Philip, on his arrival, apparently all but dead; understanding, speech, and hearing had left him, his countenance was hollow and sunk,

his eyes closed, and he seemed in a death-like sleep. Luther 1540.
expressed his astonishment to the companions of his journey, "How shamefully has the devil handled this creature!" and then, according to his custom, turning to the window, he prayed with all his might. He reminded God of his promises from the Holy Scriptures, and implored him now to fulfil them, or he could never trust in them again. Rising from prayer he took Melancthon's hand, and called to him in a cheerful tone, "Take heart, Philip: you shall not die. God has reason enough to kill you, but 'He willeth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should repent and be saved.' He desires life, not death. The greatest sinners that ever lived on earth—Adam and Eve—were accepted of God in his grace; far less will he give you up, Philip, and let you perish in your sins and faintheartedness. Give no room to despondency: be not your own murderer; but throw yourself on your Lord, who killeth and maketh alive." At these words Melancthon evinced a sudden restoration, as though from death to life; he drew his breath with energy; and after a while turning his face to Luther, implored him "not to stay him; he was on a good journey; and nothing better could befall him." Luther replied, "Not so, Philip, you must serve our Lord God yet longer." And when Melancthon had gradually become more cheerful, Luther, with his own hands, brought him something to eat, and overruled his repugnance with the threat, "Hark, Philip, you shall eat, or I excommunicate you." The beginning of the next year Luther's intimate friend Myconius seemed rapidly sinking in a consumption, and wrote the Reformer word that he "was sick, not for death, but for life;" but Luther prayed fervently that "Myconius might not pass through the veil to rest, whilst he was left out-of-doors amid the devils," and wrote to his friend that he felt certain his prayers would be heard, and

1540. by God's mercy his days would be lengthened, so that he would be his survivor. Myconius was raised up again from the brink of the grave, and eventually outlived Luther seven weeks.

July 10. From Weimar, Luther travelled on to Eisenach, where his presence was of essential service in determining the Elector's policy as to the Landgrave's unhappy affair. Luther lodged with Justus Menius, and had Amsdorf as a fellow guest, a meeting which raised his spirits to a high pitch, as is evinced by his letters to Kate. "We are here," he wrote to her on the 16th July, "brisk and sound. We eat like the Bohemians, yet not over much; we drink like the Germans, yet not too hard: we are, however, merry. Master Philip is well again, God be praised! Hereby I commend you to God. Amen. And let the children pray. There is such heat and drought here day and night as is intolerable. O come, dear last day! amen." Ten days later, he wrote to Kate, "See that I find a good drink of beer on my return. If God will, on Tuesday morning we shall be at Wittenberg. We have brought Master Philip out of hell with joy, and, by God's grace, shall bring him home. The devil is full of wrath, and does scandalous deeds. More than a thousand acres of wood in the Thuringian forest, belonging to my good lord, are now burning. The forest by Werda has also taken fire; and so in many other places: the flames cannot be put out. This will make wood dear. Pray against the pestilent Satan, who would harm us not only in body and soul, but also in goods and substance. Christ our Lord! come from heaven and blow up such a fire against him as shall never be quenched!" This letter bore the address, "For the hands of the rich dame of Zuhlsdorf, Doctoress Catherine Lutherin, bodily dwelling at Wittenberg, spiritually at Zuhlsdorf, my beloved. In her absence, to be opened by Dr. Bugenhagen, parson." A letter from Luther to

Menius, on his return, thanked him very warmly for his hospi- 1540.
table entertainment, and mentioned particularly the amusement he had found in teaching his son Timothy to seize nuts; the antics of the little urchin alone had afforded him delight enough.

The answer of the Schmalkald Allies to the Imperial reply had failed to obtain from the Emperor a ratification of the Frankfort truce, but prevailed upon him to appoint a conference of learned divines, to meet at Spires; but as the plague was ravaging that city, Hagenau, by the command of Ferdinand, was substituted as the place of meeting. This conference was opened in the middle of June. The subjects of dispute had been divided by Luther under three heads: the first comprising doctrinal questions; the second, such points of discipline and ceremonial as were not indifferent; the third, such points of discipline and ceremonial as *were* indifferent. But Luther had no confidence in any attempt at reconciliation, and complained, "We have dallied long enough with Satan and his papists." Melancthon could not be present; and neither the Elector of Saxony nor the Landgrave deemed it worth while to proceed to Hagenau; and as Ferdinand himself was anxious to make a fresh attempt on Hungary, which by the death of John the Waywode had fallen to a child, he readily seized on the absence of the Protestant princes as a pretext for adjourning proceedings to another conference, to be held at Worms in the autumn. The conference at Worms was opened in November; and Granvella, who had now displaced Held, was the Imperial representative. Fears were entertained that the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg, who were in the Protestant body much what Contareni's party were in the Romanist, might be disposed to make undue concessions; and accordingly Luther and the Saxon theologians being convened before the

1540. Elector, came to the resolution that whatever other Evangelical States might admit, *they* would never concede the primacy of the Pope. The discussions were carried on first by eleven theologians on either side, and then by one against one—the stalwart Eck against the fragile Melancthon, the second contest, the Lutherans said, of Goliath with David. This conference at Worms was preliminary to the proposed final settlement of religious differences in the Diet which had been sum-
1541. moned to meet at Ratisbon in the following January; and when the discussions had been protracted till the middle of January, an adjournment was made by Imperial rescript to the coming Diet, without a single step in advance having been gained.

The Elector of Saxony was earnestly requested by the Emperor to be present in person at the Ratisbon Diet; but he was advised by Luther to remain at home, as being "the Prince whom, of all on earth, the devil would be most glad to catch in his toils;" and among those at Ratisbon would be the Archbishop of Mentz and Henry of Brunswick, who, of all the rulers of the earth, approached the nearest to Satan. The Elector complied with this advice, and remained in Saxony. Luther's mind was full of anxiety for Melancthon, whom he warned to beware what he ate and drank, for rumours of the deadly effect of the Papist poison-bowl were in every mouth; and such catastrophes, as well as the incendiary fires which had become common, were attributed to emissaries of the Elector of Mentz or the Duke of Brunswick. "If Christ and Satan can really be made to agree," Luther complained, "it might surely be done much nearer home, and just as well at Torgau as at Ratisbon." On the other hand, the Landgrave anticipated much from the Diet; and Bucer, whom the Prince of Hesse held in leading-strings, spoke of "neutral ground." Luther was indignant,—the more so because he had

now discovered that the representations of the Landgrave in 1541.
his demand for a double marriage had been, for the most part, false. "The Landgrave," said he, "has deceived us foully; but he shall never deceive *me* again." But the Elector of Brandenburg went far beyond the Landgrave, and in his journey to Ratisbon passed through Wittenberg, and showed Luther a book, which formed the basis of the subsequent deliberations, and was probably the production of Witzel, framed on the principle of reconciling doctrines by giving to them one half a papistical and the other half a Lutheran explanation. Luther returned the book, with the observation, "It is the Misnian Reformation of Duke George." Whilst thus one wing of the Protestant army seemed to be approaching one wing of the Papist army, John Frederic was dejected by the prospect presented by the deliberations, and composed a letter to Melancthon, forbidding him to recede not only from the sense, but even from the wording of the Augsburg Confession: and when in the article of Justification some slight deviation was made, he wrote in a style of such severity, that Luther implored him to moderate his tone, or he would "kill Philip." Yet Luther himself had never been more decided. "The Elector of Brandenburg and Bucer," he said, "invert the order of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer. They pray for bread and peace before they pray that God's name may be hallowed, His kingdom come, and His will be done. The cause is treated as though it were the cause of the Emperor, or of Ferdinand, or the Turk: on the contrary, it is God's cause. On the one side stand God and the hosts of heaven, on the other Satan and all his angels. And rather than that worldly policy should be suffered to interfere, I should prefer to be placed alone again, as I was at Worms."

The Diet was opened on the 5th April, and shortly after-

1541. wards Julius Pflug, John Eck, and John Gropper on the Romanist side, and Melancthon, Bucer, and John Pistor on the Protestant, were appointed to the task of reconciling religious differences, and the Elector of Brandenburg's book was placed in their hands. The path of adjustment was much smoothed by the absence of Eck, soon after the contest began, by a severe attack of fever. Before June agreement had been attained on four Articles, one of which was the doctrine of Justification. The Conference agreed that "man is justified in the sight of God by a living and efficacious faith." With this explanation the Elector of Saxony was dissatisfied; and Luther at once saw the drift of the Papists. "The definition," he said, "is quite true; but it is inaccurate, for it confounds passive and active justification. It is one question how we are justified, and another question how we shall act when we are so justified: a schoolboy can understand the difference." But Luther did not deem the inaccuracy of sufficient moment to warrant serious animadversion, the more so as the Emperor had declared that the admission of the collocutors should not be binding on their respective parties.

By a continuous correspondence with Melancthon, Luther was kept well informed of the progress of the discussion. He was also further himself drawn into the polemical arena. Henry of Brunswick, "that murderous incendiary," had published a severe libel against the Elector of Saxony, and, amidst more bitter accusations, charged him with making Luther his idol, or second God, although the Reformer laughed at his patron in his sleeve, and in allusion to his portly figure was wont to call him his Jack-sausage (*Hans Wurst*). Luther, in reply, addressed the real *Hans Wurst*, the Duke of Brunswick himself, in a satirical piece, in which, however, he took care to intersperse much profitable instruction about "the

New Church built to the devil," or Popery, and the "*Old* 1541.
Church to which the Evangelicals had returned," and answered his personal calumnies in one brief sentence—"Satan, thou liest!" "The book of Heinz was a right copy and formula, extracted from the devil's chancery." He defended John Frederic as a pattern to the German nobility, and spoke of his fine person, well covered with flesh, as "God's gift:" the Duke of Brunswick, on the other hand, was a murderer, like Judas; a blasphemer, who imagined God to be asleep. This publication had scarcely appeared, when the Reformer was seized with a most violent attack of the giddiness and ringing in the head, clots of matter and blood exuded from his ears, and he underwent acute pain. The Elector sent him his own physician; and after some weeks he again rallied. It is another striking proof of the regard entertained for Luther by his prince, that about this period a letter was addressed to Johnny Luther by the Elector's sons, John Frederic and John William; to which the Reformer himself sent an immediate reply, and, to enhance the compliment, in Latin; and Johnny's answer, which required more time, was to follow.

After something like doctrinal agreement on the main points had been attained at Ratisbon, the discussion proceeded to the Lord's Supper, the marriage of the clergy, and the Pope's primacy; but on these no approach could be made to harmony. But one day towards the end of May, the Elector Palatine entered the apartment of the Emperor, who was reposing on a couch, under an attack of the gout, and informed his Majesty that he was not without hopes that unity might yet be restored. Charles, raising himself on the couch, laid his hand on the Elector's breast as he replied, "Indeed! then you are a bearer of good news." The Elector Palatine then explained his scheme, which was to send an express embassy to

1541. Luther himself, to request his co-operation, and the use of his paramount influence with the Evangelical party for the invaluable attainment of concord. Prince John of Anhalt, whose son had been baptized by the Reformer at Dessau just before the departure of the Prince for Ratisbon, was appointed the bearer of this urgent entreaty, and two theologians were assigned him as comrades. Letters were despatched to the Elector of Saxony, which reached Wittenberg on the 7th June, and on the 10th John Frederic removed thither, both to entertain the ambassadors, and to bear his share in the deliberations. The ambassadors had a specious ground to hope for success. Luther had been the first to reproclaim the evangelical faith: his preaching had caused divisions, to his deep regret, which it was now in his power to heal, without any injury, it would seem, to doctrinal verities. Romanists and Protestants were one on essential questions; and Luther had always maintained that if true doctrine were inculcated, ceremonies and Church discipline would naturally fall into the right train. All Germany was, as it were, standing at the door of the Augustine Convent, to implore the boon of religious union. But Luther was not to be imposed upon by appearances. His answer dwelt first on his zeal for unity, which was fully shared by the Protestant Princes, for they had patiently endured persecution, incendiary fires, and every kind of indignity. But unity was a mere pretence, unless the Romanists were ready to yield to God and to truth: as it was, they were dealing fraudulently. If in reality they agreed with the Protestants in doctrine, they must also agree with them on the Lord's Supper and the other Articles, on which disunion remained; for such articles were only deductions from essential doctrine. The conclusion of the Conference on Justification—the only article which he had seen—he could not entirely approve of. That truth of

doctrine must ever lead to truth in usage, only applied to those 1541.
who sincerely desired to obey God, but were as yet weak in faith; it did not apply to those who had heard the Word of God for a long series of years, and had been labouring to quench its voice in rivers of blood. By the terms of the Conference the acts of the Collocutors were referred to the States: this was agreeable to the Evangelical party, and he could not separate himself from their united verdict. The book which had been the basis of proceedings was afterwards sent to him; he found it to be the same as had before been shown to him by the Elector of Brandenburg, and replied that "it was the old device; as the proverb said, 'the snow that fell last year.'"

The Elector of Brandenburg, however, still clung to the hope of reconciliation; but the two religious parties could not be drawn an inch nearer to one another. Melancthon was complained of for the first time as obstinate. Eck, from his sick-bed, wrote in disapprobation of the acts of his colleagues. Contareni, as the mouthpiece of the Papal Consistory, was obliged to express his dissatisfaction with concession. The Recess of the Diet was published on the 29th July, and stated that the Reformation of the Church was a matter of absolute necessity, but must now be referred to a general or national Council, or another meeting of the Diet. The adherents to the Augsburg Confession were to keep within the limits of the Articles agreed upon: no more monasteries were to be destroyed: the monastic revenues were to be duly paid: the Protestants were to refrain from drawing others to their persuasion. But as this edict seemed to bear hard on the Evangelical princes, the Emperor took care to appease their resentment by a paper, privately communicated the same day, in explanation of the various clauses. The Evangelicals were to keep within the terms of the Articles according to their

1541. interpretation by the Augsburg Confession: monasteries must not be destroyed, but might be reformed: the revenues of monasteries in Protestant lands, deriving endowments from Catholic provinces, were to be duly paid: the Protestants might receive those who *spontaneously* embraced the Evangelical faith; and the Romanist prelates were reminded of their gross dereliction of duty, and warned to amend their ways. On the whole, the Ratisbon Diet was a most auspicious event for the Reformation: it was more than a renewal of the Nuremberg peace, or a ratification of the Frankfort truce, for the Emperor rescinded the Augsburg decree, commanding the Imperial Chamber to take the new edict for its rule; and he allowed Protestants to be eligible to seats in the Chamber. "The Papists," Luther said, "have earned the appellation of the New Protestants." The idea of settling religious questions by a conference of learned men, or the decision of a Diet, was itself almost tantamount to an abnegation of Popery: and the words of Charles were everywhere quoted, that "if the Lutherans desisted from their efforts for an ecclesiastical reform, he, at least, should not desist from his." With joy did Luther welcome home Melancthon, "like Lot escaped from Sodom." And the book which had been the groundwork of the deliberations, and which served as the text-book for the famous Interim enacted seven years later, was published, with a preface from the pen of Philip, who, by the staunchness of his adhesion to the truth at Ratisbon, had done much to repair his character for constancy in public estimation.

Luther removed his eyes from Ratisbon to fix them upon the great events transacting elsewhere. In Hungary Ferdinand had received a bloody defeat from Sultan Soliman, who now seized on that kingdom, keeping the Austrian provinces under a constant dread of invasion. "But how can I pray,"

Luther exclaimed, "for Ferdinand, when his hands are 1541.
stained with the blood of the Saints of God? I can only implore the Lord to save whom He should save." The Emperor, meanwhile, having passed through Italy, and laboured to impress on the Pontiff, in a conference at Lucca, the necessity of summoning a council, had engaged in a luckless enterprise against Algiers. Just as he had disembarked his forces, a violent storm had sunk many of his ships, and shattered the rest, which were compelled to seek refuge near Cape Metafuz. Thither he himself marched with his miserable army, without supplies, in an enemy's country; his soldiers dropping down dead every mile of the way from overwhelming fatigue, or the missiles of the Arabs. And when he again embarked with the remnant of his host, a dreadful tempest again scattered the ships, and Charles himself, without his fleet, put into a port of Spain. "It is the vengeance of Heaven!" Luther said: "the guilt of innocent blood, the horrors perpetrated at Ghent, are not forgotten. I have conceived a hatred against the Emperor." The Reformer was beginning to see more and more plainly that with Charles religion was merely a question of policy. On the side of France, also, a new cloud of war was gathering: some ambassadors despatched by Francis to the Sultan had been apprehended in Italy and put to death; and the impetuous spirit of the French monarch, fretting at the recollection of recent perfidy, burnt with aggravated resentment to avenge this fresh insult.

An additional source of disquiet was opened at this period in Germany. The Bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz had died early in the spring; and the vacant see was filled up by the canons, by the election of Julius Pflug, one of their number, and also one of the Ratisbon collocutors. By ancient custom the approval of the Elector of Saxony was required to render

1541. valid the choice of the canons; and John Frederic persisted in refusing his sanction: he complained of Pflug as a time-server, and said that no one could have been selected more obnoxious to him, and he pointed out those among the canons, the election of any one of whom he was willing to confirm. Pflug was all this while at Ratisbon; and the Pope postponed the period of decision for six months. After the conference was ended, Pflug declared his acceptance of the bishopric, and the Emperor took up his cause, and wrote to the Elector to request his sanction; and Pflug prepared to press his suit in person with John Frederic. The Elector, however, remained inflexible, and garrisoned the fortress of Zeitz. As the canons were firmly resolved to keep to their first election in opposition to the electoral overtures, and the time for them to make another choice had elapsed, the Elector came to the determination to consult his own taste in the appointment of a bishop, and deliberated with his theologians who was the fittest person for the office. Luther proposed Prince George of Anhalt, urging that bishoprics ought to be conferred on persons of noble birth, to encourage learning amongst the nobility. But as it was the Elector's intention to strip the bishopric of a large portion of its revenues, and appropriate them to the salaries of ministers and other ecclesiastical uses, this appointment was not made. Amsdorf was then thought of, as at once of noble extraction, although his family had become reduced in circumstances, and unmarried, which would enable him to support the episcopal dignity at
1542. less expense. On the 18th January Luther accompanied the bishop delegate to Naumburg, and preached the next day in the Cathedral, and with other presbyters laid his hands on Amsdorf's head and consecrated him bishop, "without," Luther said, "any chrism, and without butter, grease, fat, lard, and whatever may be more holy with the Papists than those."

A few days afterwards they proceeded to Zeitz, and Luther again preached. The proceedings of consecration were given to the world, with a defence of the Elector's conduct throughout the affair, in a writing by Luther entitled, "An Example how to consecrate a true Bishop." 1542. Jan. 20.

Amsdorf was greatly perplexed by some features in his new dignity: he disliked the ceremonial of respect paid to him as the Prince-Bishop, and had some scruples as to its consistency with Scripture: and the counsel of Luther was in constant requisition. "It is all a mask, and nothing serious," Luther wrote to him; "God cares not for such things: they are not the kingdom of God. The Church must have a visible form, a husk, or outward garb, as it were. Yet none of these is the Church, which is neither Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, but simply Christ. And he will not care whether the character you have to sustain be private, public, plebeian, or princely, provided, whatever it be, you serve him in it." "How happy for you," he wrote at another time, "that you find pomp and splendour a prison: to the Papists they are a paradise. Yet bear them, as Christ bore his pomp on the day of palms, poor, mortified, and crucified in heart." In recommending a painter to Amsdorf, who deserved encouragement, Luther reminded him that the style and decorations of his dwelling ought to be in keeping with his station. "But I have resolved," he added, "never myself to receive another present from you. The creatures of the court would be too glad to get an excuse for traducing me, and making it appear that in concurring in your elevation, I had an eye to my own lucre. Be not offended at this determination. It is not from Amsdorf that I refuse a present, but from the Bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz."

The Diet, which had been appointed to meet at Spires in January, was opened on the 9th February. The object of

1542. Ferdinand, who presided, was to obtain large contingents in men and money for the Turkish war, and as the need was most pressing, every indulgence, as at Ratisbon, was conceded to the Protestants. The Ratisbon truce was extended for five years, to date from the period of the succours being forwarded against the Turk: the Imperial Chamber was to be reformed, and a deputation of Romanists and Protestants in equal proportions was appointed to carry the Reform into execution. Joachim of Brandenburg, as a moderate man, was chosen commander-in-chief against the Turks. And so successful were these expedients that the Protestants furnished the required contingents, and entered into the war with the utmost alacrity. As for Luther, almost as thoroughly national as he was profoundly Christian, he directed the force of his pen to enlighten the apprehension and rouse the ardour of his countrymen. He studied the Refutation of the Koran written by Richard the Dominican in 1300, and translated it into German, with a preface and epilogue; and he also published a Battle Sermon, which was to serve as a formula of instruction for the chaplains attached to the army, and contained a form of prayer against the Turk. And such was his zeal that he parted with some of his private property, some garden ground and a court-yard, in order that he might be able to give his contribution, like the widow's mite, to the cause of God against the false prophet. But the national spirit of Luther was not present in the conduct of the war. The Emperor was involved in a renewed contest with France. Ferdinand was remiss; he gathered money from his kingdom of Bohemia, but not men; the Protestant contingents were somewhat unfairly dealt with; and it began to be whispered that it was the Papist policy to let them perish by the Ottoman scimitar.

It was soon proved that all the indulgence which had been

shown the Protestants originated in selfish motives. The contingents had been promised or sent against the Turks, but the Imperial Chamber was not reformed; it continued to issue its judgment against the Evangelicals, and Henry of Brunswick still made his raids upon the lands of his Protestant neighbours, and threatened and insulted the city of Goslar. So persevering were these menaces, that the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave assembled their forces to crush a Prince whose malice was so inveterate. Within little more than two months they had reduced the whole of the Duchy of Brunswick to submission, and compelled the Duke, just as they were on the eve of attacking his fortress of Wolfenbuttel, to fly to Ferdinand, to whom in his distress he made his appeal, as well as to the Diet which had met at Nuremberg. Ferdinand forthwith sent a deputation to the Elector and Landgrave, requiring them to desist from war, and the States also sent ambassadors to demand forbearance; but they replied that they had furnished the stipulated auxiliaries against the Turks with good faith; that in attacking Henry of Brunswick they had only discharged the duty they owed their allies; and when peace had been obtained they would march with as large a part of their forces as possible into Hungary. From the first the enterprise against the Duke of Brunswick received the approval of Luther. "I commend to you and to the Church," he wrote to Amsdorf the 13th July, "the war against the incendiary Henry; it is simply necessary for the defence of the oppressed." He hailed with gratitude the triumph of the Protestant arms. "The victory is plainly divine; Wolfenbuttel, which was thought impregnable, has been taken within three days. God has been the whole doer in the matter: the events of these times are not human, and I feel assured they are couriers of the blessed day of our redemption. Amen." 1542.

1542. Just when affairs were in this state of turmoil, war with the Turks and war in Hungary, the Emperor at war with France, and intestine strife continually arising between the German Princes, Paul III. descried his opportunity, and by a bull, signed the 22nd May, and published the 29th June, convened a general council to meet the ensuing 1st November at Trent. And towards the end of November three cardinals actually appeared at Trent as the Pope's commissioners for opening the council; a few Italian bishops likewise made their appearance, but when these dignitaries had waited there a few weeks, and no fresh arrivals of ecclesiastics took place—for travelling, it was alleged, in such troublous times, was unsafe—the council was prorogued, to the infinite amusement of the Protestants. On the other hand, the conviction, which was now general, that Rome would never put her hand to the work of reform in earnest, the proceedings of recent Diets, the warlike occupations of the Emperor, the successful enterprise against Henry of Brunswick, had considerably added to the strength of the Protestant side. At Halle the Reformation had been previously commenced under the superintendence of Justus Jonas: and this year the Reformation was established in Ratisbon, in Hildesheim, in the dominions of Otto Henry Count Palatine, known as the "younger Palatinate in Bavaria," and the next year, under the direction of Bucer and Melancthon, in the Electorate of the Archbishop of Cologne. And there were indications that it would not be long ere the Elector Palatine would follow the example of his kinsman in Bavaria.

A year so replete with matter of public interest was not uneventful in the Reformer's private history. At its commencement he made the will bequeathing all he had to Kate, which after his death was confirmed by the Elector, and carried into effect. His health continued better than was usual

with him, and his pen, therefore, was vigorously employed. 1512.
Towards the end of August, Johnny, who had hitherto been instructed by a tutor at home, was sent for the first time to a school at Torgau, conducted by Mark Crodel, to whom Luther wrote on the occasion as follows: "Grace and peace.—As was agreed between us, I send you my son John, that you may instruct him in grammar and music, and at the same time watch over and correct his morals; for I have the utmost confidence in you in the Lord. I will liberally repay your care, and must ask you to inform me what progress he makes from time to time, and how far his capacity may allow of his education being carried. I have sent Florian with him, chiefly because I see that boys of his nature require the society of many others, which is a better training school than home discipline. You must treat Florian with more severity; and if you can put him to board with some citizen, do so; if not, send him back to me. May God prosper the undertaking. If you succeed with my son, and I live, you shall have my other two sons also. For I am convinced that we shall not have hereafter many preceptors of such diligence as yourself, especially in grammar and in severity of moral vigilance. I must seize the opportunity, for time speeds, and diligent schoolmasters speed yet faster. My son will return hither for the higher studies. Farewell in the Lord; and tell John Walter that I pray for his salvation, and commend my son to his instructions in music. I desire first of all that my sons should prove theologians, but I would have them also to be grammarians and musicians. Again farewell, and salute Gabriel and his family. For the third time farewell, and for ever." A little later, on the 6th September, the following private letter was addressed to the schoolmaster: "Grace and peace.—My dear Crodel,—Conceal from my son what I now write to you. My daughter Magdalene is dan-

1542. gerously ill, and ready to depart to the true Father in heaven, unless God will otherwise. She longs so earnestly to see her brother, that I have felt compelled to send a carriage to fetch him. Their love for one another has been most tender. Perhaps his presence may revive her; at least, my conscience will not charge me with neglect. Bid him, therefore, without communicating the cause, to speed hither in the carriage. He shall promptly return when she shall either sleep in the Lord, or be recovered." Fourteen days later, little Magdalene fell asleep in Christ in her father's arms. Luther, a little before her death, said to her, "Little Magdalene, my little daughter, you are quite willing to remain here with your father, or to go to yonder Father?" pointing upwards; to which she answered, "Yes, dear father, as God will." When she was dying, he read to her that passage of Isaiah, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast."* "Yes, my daughter," he added, "enter thou into thy chamber in peace; I shall soon come to thee: for God will never suffer me to see the miseries that are coming upon Germany." Luther wept bitterly at his daughter's death, but suppressed his grief in public, so that no trace of tears was to be seen upon his face at the funeral, when he was engrossed with meditating on the text, "None of us liveth to himself, and none of us dieth to himself." With many sobs Kate dismissed Johnny to return to school, but he did not resume his studies contentedly. His mother promised that if he

* Isaiah xxvi. 19, 20.

were ill, he should be sent for home; and as he entreated to 1542.
be allowed to return, Luther was obliged to interfere. "I can easily believe, my dear Crodel," he wrote to the schoolmaster the day after Christmas, "that my son was melted at his mother's words in his grief for his sister's death, but do you be earnest in your exhortations. When here he boasted of you and your wife, that he was as well or better treated by you than at home. Bid him overcome all womanly weakness, and accustom himself to bear ills, and not indulge a childish softness. He was sent from home for the very purpose of learning and hardening against trials. He must not return unless he is really ill, in which case do you let me know." "I have never been more enraged with Death," he wrote to his friends, in touching on his recent affliction, "but I have satiated my wrath by threatening him from Scripture. Magdelene's end was most peaceful, and we have reason to do nothing else than give God thanks that she is now beyond the power of the flesh, the world, the Turk, and Satan. Would that we too might have such a death and such a life! Amen."

Early in the new year Luther published a treatise "Of 1543.
the Jews and their Lies," in which he touched on the deep depravity of the nation or sect; and observed that better moral lessons were to be met with in Æsop, Cato, or Terence, than in all the writings of the Talmudists. He used to say that "he felt pity for the whole lost house of Israel for the love he bore to one Jew, his Saviour;" but now he stated that he quite despaired of their conversion, "the Jewish heart was a stock-stone-iron-devil heart," and therefore not for the sake of the Jews, but of Christians, he took pains to demonstrate that the period fixed by the Jewish prophets for the Messiah's advent had long been expired, and that an accumulation of evidence pointed to Jesus as that Divine Being.

1543. He followed up the treatise by another, "On the Schem Hamphoras of the Jews," in which he corrected Jewish errors, reconciled the genealogies of Jesus given by Matthew and Luke, and again reflected on the trickery and falsehood of the Jews, charging them with attempting, by their false grammar and arbitrary punctuation, to obscure the prophecies relative to the Messiah. This second treatise gave occasion to a "Commentary on the last Words of David," in which he again vindicated the principles on which he had proceeded in his translation of the Old Testament, and descended to some philological details. With these writings his literary efforts for 1543 were exhausted, excepting epistolary correspondence and prefaces* to the compositions of others. His Commentary on the book of Genesis, the labour of years, taken down from his lips as he delivered it, was editing by Viet Dietrich, Cruciger, and Rorarius. A new edition of his Church Postils was superintended by Cruciger. And a Latin edition of his works was publishing, in which the Elector took great interest, and as the printers proceeded but slowly, warned them to make more speed, or they should be deprived of their privileges. He was eager to have the edition completed in the Reformer's lifetime.

Throughout the year Luther was a prey to the old malady in the head, which he now regarded as a chronic ailment. "I have overworked," he said, "and overlived, and am good

* One of these was to the speeches of the young Princes, John Frederic and John William, delivered before the University on the 29th April, in the presence of their father and his Court. From commending the two Princes, so ripe in learning for their early age, one fourteen and the other thirteen years of age, Luther passed on to the dangers which beset their path through life, from "Satan's tools, fallacious courtiers, perfidious friends, treacherous ministers, and rapacious nobles." "Princes," he said, "are Satan's sweetest dainties."

for nothing; God send me a happy hour." He had promised 1543.
the Bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz to pay him a visit; but he wrote to him in the summer, that for six months he had daily been expecting his release; and his state of health continued feeble throughout the autumn. The physicians tried every means in their power to relieve the oppression in the head—first a cautery in the leg, and then a vein was opened in the left leg. Luther resigned himself to their skill, but smiled at its failure. "It is old age," he exclaimed, "and all the physicians in the world could do me no good; but, that I may not seem my own enemy, treat me as you please." Bodily disease and feebleness were aggravated by a melancholy foreboding of the ills hanging over "his dear Germany, that wallowing sow." The churches had good pastors, but there was no love of God amongst the people, and but a stint measure of morality at the courts even of the Protestant princes. Everywhere avarice, corruption, and iniquity abounded. He regretted that, excellent as the Elector of Saxony was himself, he permitted his courtiers to influence his acts, and was not half alive to the deceitfulness of Satan. Immorality, in a most formidable aspect, threatened to invade the University of Wittenberg; but within those precincts Luther could put his own authority into exercise, and he published a manifesto to the students, exhorting them to self-restraint, and to endure hardness; but intimated that if remonstrance failed, recourse should be had to the power of the law. The Turk, the Jew, the Pope, and the Sacramentarian filled up the back-ground in the dismal picture of human depravity. "I pray," he said, "continually against the Turk; but I know not against what Turk God may be pleased to turn my prayers. The Turk within the walls is infinitely worse than the Turk without." But his faith was sufficiently strong to convert even his sorrows into a ground of hope. "All the glory of the Turk

1543. and Papist I account but devils' dung; Christ will soon appear with redemption. Amen."

The Diet, which had again been summoned to meet at Nuremberg before the close of 1542, did not commence its sittings until the first week of February, 1543, when Luther addressed a letter to the evangelical clergy to request their prayers against the Turks. But the notion that either Ferdinand or the Emperor was sincere in his professions of zeal, had now become extremely doubtful; and the vehemence of intestine strife swallowed up the apprehension of more remote danger. The Romanists were greatly incensed by the seizure of the Brunswick Duchy; the Protestants were indignant that the promises repeatedly pledged to them in reference to the Imperial Chamber had been as repeatedly broken, and that the Emperor was intent on his schemes of personal ambition, prosecuting the conquest of Gueldres from the Duke of Juliers. The deliberations accordingly had no satisfactory issue. The Recess of Ferdinand and the Romanist party spoke of garrisoning the fortresses on the Turkish frontiers, and of contributions to be levied for that purpose, of the Reform of the Imperial Chamber, to date from the 3rd July; and such as refused to send the required auxiliaries were subjected to fiscal jurisdiction. The Protestants, on their side, held their separate consultations, and published a counter Recess, in which they repudiated the decree of the adverse members of the Diet; engaged to hold by one another in opposing the processes and proscriptions of the Imperial Chamber; refused to send forces to Hungary, or to resign the Duchy of Brunswick, seeing that the Duke was convicted of a host of crimes; and resolved on sending a deputation to the Emperor to state their grievances and enforce their demands. And two months after the Diet had broken up, the allies met at Schmalkald, when provision was made for the reception of the King of

Sweden, and the Bishop of Munster, Osnaburg, and Minden, 1543.
into the Alliance; and immediately on the close of the meeting, a month later, an embassy was despatched to the Emperor, who was moving from Italy at the head of his army through Suabia towards the Low Countries, to dispute the possession of Gueldres with the Duke of Juliers. The ambassadors were favoured with an audience late in the evening of the 3rd August, by the Emperor, who received them standing, and extended his hand to each of them, but sat whilst they detailed their complaints. Two days later Charles returned his answer, requiring the Protestants to furnish auxiliaries against the Turks, deferring the reform of the Imperial Chamber until full inquiry had proved the validity of the charges, and postponing the consideration of all the other questions until the approaching Diet to be held at Spires, in which he himself intended to be present. The Protestants were somewhat softened by this reply, so that, influenced by the desire to avoid offending Charles, they did not keep back their contributions in money to the Turkish war, but were still resolved to withhold their forces. The visitation of the Imperial Chamber, to which they were invited by the Emperor, commenced in October, and the Protestants sent their delegates as though they believed the Imperial professions to be sincere; but they found their allegations met by quibbles and cavils, and after some time they desisted in extreme disgust from prosecuting the attempt. The Emperor had his own reasons for retaining the Chamber as it was, and the extreme Romanist section had found it too useful a tool for their own purposes to be willing parties to a change in its constitution. In fact, the conduct of the Emperor had been dexterous in the highest degree. His astute policy had wavered between the Romanists and the Protestants; but by this vacillation he had succeeded in establishing a middle party, which still held, in some im-

1543. portant respects, the ancient faith, but adopted the popular aspirations for an ecclesiastical reformation: he had placed himself at the head of this party, and he owed to it the great authority which now invested him. The rising men among the princes were almost all of this imperial, conservative, reforming section; in particular, the young Elector of Brandenburg and Duke Maurice of Saxony were among its most eminent members. The aged Duke Henry of Saxony had died some time previously; and one of the first acts of Duke Maurice, on succeeding to the Saxon Duchy, notwithstanding that he was married to the Landgrave's daughter, was to withdraw from the Schmalkald confederacy, at the same time that he still professed the evangelical faith. A little while afterwards he openly quarrelled with the Elector of Saxony for the right which he claimed of free passage through the town of Wurzen. Both the Elector and Duke mustered their forces for battle, but a reconciliation between the cousins was affected at Grimma. "You resemble," Luther told the irritated kinsmen, "two drunken country boors fighting in a pothouse over a piece of broken glass, or two fools cuffing one another for a morsel of bread. Let each of you retire to his own chamber, and pray in earnest an 'Our Father,' that, if God will, the Holy Ghost may change his heart." Shortly afterwards Duke Maurice started for the Turkish war, in which his life was narrowly saved by the devoted self-sacrifice of an attendant. And the ascendancy which the Emperor had gained, became the more obvious when the Duke of Juliers was beheld to kneel at his feet and crave pardon for his offence, and resign the contested prize in the Low Countries to be annexed to the Imperial dominions. The Emperor's gold had been more effective in turning the tide of war in his favour, than his soldiers' steel. Under such an aspect of public affairs it may be readily

imagined with what pathos of indignation John Frederic 1543.
mourned over the downfall of constitutional Germany; and in what notes of still deeper despondency, taking his survey from higher grounds, Luther echoed his Prince's lamentations. "Everything is venal; I hear of nothing but rapine and violence and the oppression of the people by the nobles. The earth is filled with iniquity; Ferdinand becomes more Satanic and furious every day, and is worse than Charles. When at last it shall come to a war between the Emperor and the Protestants, without a doubt our centaurs, like those of Juliers, will sell *their* Prince also. How heartily do I thank God that my dearest daughter Magdalene is delivered from Ur of the Chaldees. Come, Lord Jesus, come."*

Early in the next year Charles made his entrance into 1544.
Spires, to preside in person in the Diet, and had never been more assiduous in paying court to the Protestant Princes than at this time, when their downfall had been determined in his mind; but he saw the necessity of peace with the Turks and with the French, before any steps could be taken in furtherance of his domestic plans; and he knew that the road to peace only lay through victory. On the 18th February the Elector of Saxony arrived at Spires, and was received by imperial command, and escorted into the city with all due ceremony, and found the Emperor in every respect ready to accede to his wishes. His marriage articles were ratified, and Ferdinand's daughter Eleanor was promised in marriage to his eldest son, if in the interval religious differences could be

* John Eck died on the 10th February, 1543. Viet Dietrich, in a letter to Luther, states that Eck, being seized with fever, attempted to cure it, after his old fashion, with copious cups. Drunkenness terminated in epilepsy, and epilepsy in apoplexy. The Eucharist was celebrated by the bedside amidst Eck's incoherent exclamations, "Oh! had we but the 4000 guilders, we could right well settle the business."

1544. arranged. The Landgrave was beguiled by the bait of the commandership-in-chief of the Imperial forces; and it was contrived that the cause of the Duke of Brunswick should be heard without judgment being pronounced; and the Elector and Landgrave were persuaded to commit the Duchy to their good friend the Emperor as sequestrator, until sentence in the case could be finally given. On the 12th June the Recess of the Diet was published. Large aids were granted to the Emperor in men and money against the French, and a poll-tax was to be levied against the Turks; the Imperial Chamber was to remain as it was for three years longer, when the judges were to be appointed from both religious denominations; and meanwhile the Augsburg edict and the proscription of Goslar and Minden were suspended; and a new Diet was appointed for December, at which the Emperor and Princes should present formularies for the adjustment of religious differences, until such time as a general council should meet in Germany, or in default of that, a decision should be arrived at by the German nation in Diet. The Recess was so worded as to be susceptible of various interpretations, so as to satisfy both parties; and Charles comforted the Evangelicals, as at Ratisbon, with private assurances of his favour and goodwill. The Papists were as much deceived by all these manœuvres as the Protestants themselves, and were highly incensed by the result of the deliberations. The foundations of his schemes thus stealthily but securely laid in Germany, Charles hastened to take the command of his army against the French, and his presence revived the courage of his troops, who had been disheartened by the intelligence of the battle of Cerisoles. Having first subjugated Luxemburg, he advanced from the Low Countries through Champagne towards the heart of France, and laid siege to St. Disier. And at the
Sept. 19. same time Henry of England laid siege to and took Boulogne.

St. Disier at length capitulated, but the time spent in the siege proved the salvation of France; and the Emperor finding himself in a district of vineyards, without the means of getting sustenance for his army, was glad enough to come to terms with Francis, and peace was signed at Crespy in Valois, on conditions not unfavourable to the French. The Pontiff, who had been so indignant at the Recess of the Diet of Spires, that he sent a letter to the Emperor, not only to complain of indulgence shown to heretics, but in yet more resentful language of the invasion of his own supreme ecclesiastical prerogatives, was elated by the restoration of amity between their most Catholic and most Christian Majesties; and, as he could not fail to recognize the necessity of reclaiming for himself the functions which a lay tribunal had arrogated, he published a Bull (Lætare Jerusalem), convoking in terms of rhapsody an œcumencial council to meet at Trent in the beginning of March in the ensuing year. 1544.

Throughout this year Luther's health showed a considerable improvement. On the 26th January he wrote to Amsdorf, "I am restored in my whole body excepting my head, which continues weak; but I preach, read, stand, and walk, and as soon as the winter is past I shall visit you." At this time the subject of "secret betrothals" engaged the Reformer's attention: a case was tried in which the decision of law was incompatible with justice, for such clandestine agreements were pronounced valid if entered into conditionally, subject to the consent of parents. Luther took up the matter with his usual ardour. The insertion of an addition—the consent of parents—did not in any way remove, he stated, the inherent vice of all such compacts as clandestine: and he apprehended that parents would withdraw their sons from the University, under the dread of their forming ill-advised

1544. unions. He went so far as to inveigh against the practice from the pulpit, as a remnant of Popery, an invention of Satan set up by the instrumentality of the Pope, the great soul-murderer, and solemnly committed the clandestine betrothals, like the monkish vow, to hell. The lawyers resented this conduct; but, nothing daunted, Luther defended the part he had acted, and implored the Elector to do away with the legal validity of all secret matrimonial compacts.

After a winter so long and severe that Luther interpreted it into a happy omen that the day of Christ was near, he renewed his promise to the Bishop of Naumburg in the spring, of paying him a visit. His style of addressing his friend, for some time after his promotion to the See, had still been, "My dear Amsdorf;" but now it was changed to "Reverend Bishop in the Lord," or "Reverend Father in Christ," to exemplify in his own deportment the respect due to the episcopal character. The visit, however, continued to be deferred; first there were reported to be roving bandits in the neighbourhood; then "the ploughs," or kinsmen of Julius Pflug, through whose territory part of the journey lay, fell under suspicion of entertaining no goodwill to his person; and finally, a letter of the Elector to Luther, from the Diet, requested him so to time his visit that he might be able on his return to meet him at Zeitz. During the Elector's absence a letter also was received by Luther from the Electress Sibylla, in inquiry for his health, and for tidings of his wife and children. He replied as follows: "Grace and peace in the Lord, illustrious, high-born princess, gracious lady. I have received your letter, and thank you submissively for so diligently inquiring after my health, and how it goes with my wife and children, and wishing me all good. God be praised, it goes right well with us--far better than we deserve. I

have for a long while been out of sorts in my head, but that 1544.
is no wonder; the fault is old age, of itself cold and comfortless, sick and weak. The pitcher is often carried to the well, but it breaks at last. I have lived long enough: God give me a happy hour, that my foul, useless bag of worms may drop beneath the ground to its own people. I am certain that I have seen the best that I shall see on earth. The world grows worse and worse: God help his own! Amen. I can well believe your Grace has found it a tedious time since your gracious lord has been absent; but since it must needs be, and is for the good and profit of Christendom and of Germany, we must bear his absence with patience, according to the will of God. What a comfort is the Word of God to support us in life, and assure us of happiness beyond! What a joy, too, is prayer, which, as your Grace writes, we know is heard of God in his own good time. Two such jewels of ineffable price, devil, Turk, Pope, and Papist do not possess; nay, in such respects they are poorer than any beggar upon earth. We must thank God, the Father of all mercies, in Christ Jesus his dear Son, our Lord, that he has given us such saving treasures, such precious jewels, of which so many of the highest heads on earth know nothing. Well may we compassionate them. God enlighten them, to see, know, and believe as we do! Amen. My Kate offers her poor 'Our Father' for your Highness, with all submission, and heartily thanks your Grace that you so graciously think of her. Herewith I commend you to the dear God. Amen."

At last, on the 13th August, Luther set out on his long intended journey to Zeitz. Amsdorf had provided an escort which conducted Luther by Eilenburg, Borna, and Zuhlsdorf, until he safely reached the Bishop's palace. After he had been at Zeitz a little while, Luther repaired to Altenburg on

1544. a short visit to Spalatin,* who stood in much need of his friendly consolation, and then returned back again to Zeitz. Amsdorf again sent an escort, with directions to accompany Luther the whole way on his return to Wittenberg; every expense on the road was defrayed, and a silver cup and spoon were found deposited amongst the Reformer's baggage.

Aug. 27. "You have treated me," Luther wrote to the Bishop, "like St. James's host of whom we read, and have made me, against my will—a thief of your property. Perhaps you thought of Joseph and Benjamin. But how unseemly it is that I, a poor theologian, born in very humble station, should drink out of gold and silver! It will be a scandal to the enemies of the Word, and there are enough of them; but the whole fault is yours." Rather more than a month afterwards, Luther paid a visit to the Elector at Torgau, who required his presence to consecrate a recently erected church. All the formalities of consecration invented by the Papists were rejected, and Luther simply offered up prayer, and delivered a discourse adapted to the occasion, which he and the Elector determined to be the true Christian mode of dedicating an edifice to God's worship. The autumn was again a sickly season at Wittenberg, and Luther's children all suffered from illness; and when the rest had recovered, little Margaret still maintained a doubtful struggle between life and death. "I should not murmur," Luther said, "if it pleased God to remove her from this satanical age and world. I desire the same for myself and all mine: there is no longer any heroic virtue in princes; everywhere are hatred, strife, avarice, and iniquity.

* During this visit Luther pledged Spalatin in a glass of wine with the extempore Latin distich:—

"Isthoc ex vitro vitreus bibit ipse Lutherus,
Hospes supremum tum, Spalatine tuus."

My only joy is to look forward to the day of the Redeemer." 1544.
Margaret, however, recovered; and Luther, writing of himself a little later, spoke of his own amended health as a resurrection from the dead: he had "preached twice without any difficulty, which seemed a miracle."

The principal production of Luther's pen this year was a "Brief Confession of the Holy Sacrament," occasioned by a rumour consequent on discontinuing the elevation of the host in the Wittenberg churches, that he was inclining to Zwinglianism, which he denied with extreme energy. So rooted was this conviction, that in the Cologne Reformation Articles, prepared by Bucer and Melancthon, and delivered to Luther for examination, he regretted the absence of sufficient distinctness on this subject, and designated the whole as "wishy-washy stuff," by which he gave such keen offence to Melancthon, that Philip was in doubt whether he should not leave Wittenberg. Luther was setting his house in order in regard to the literary monuments of his Christian faith. Having in the previous year vindicated his version of the Scriptures, and now declared his testimony on the Eucharist, he next gave his final judgment on Popery, in a treatise entitled "The Papacy founded by Satan," which appeared early in the following spring; and he also preached sermons and 1545.
held disputations on the Trinity, and the Godhead of Jesus Christ, to check the growth of infidelity. The beginning of the new year, Luther having been much exposed to the weather on a very cold day, was seized with a violent pain in the breast, attended with great oppression at the heart, and at two o'clock in the morning was obliged to send for medical aid. "I am in dreadful pain," Luther said, as the physician entered the room. "Is it the stone?" "No; it is something much worse than the stone." The physician's verdict was that the malady was "the cardiac," and he gave

1545. orders that Luther's breast and back should be rubbed with hot cloths, after which he was to have a hot mess, and forbade him to take his usual beverage of must, and sent him some Rhenish wine from his own cellar. From this attack Luther recovered after some little time; but it proved the forerunner of a similar illness, which rather more than a year later carried him to the grave.

His indignation was extreme at the alliance of the French monarch, and, as rumour did not blush to declare, of his Holiness the Pope also, with the Sultan; an alliance which covered Francis with disgrace in the eyes of Christendom, and enabled Charles the better to pursue his deep-laid and long-meditated schemes. "What!" said Luther, "the Vicar of Christ in alliance with Mahomet! and the French King has granted Barbarossa a harbour for his fleet, with permission to build a mosque: and Francis and Paul together have agreed to allow him 300,000 crowns a month in requital of his services. See to what an object the indulgences, profits, annates, and rapine of all kinds—the Pope's plunder of Christendom for ages, forsooth against the Turk—are now devoted! O! most holy Father! O! most Christian King!" The letter of Paul III. to Charles was admirably calculated to foster the delusion which pervaded all minds; and it was busily noised about that Charles had resolved to come forward himself in the character of a Reformer, and to remodel ecclesiastical institutions by the standard of the Nicene age. But soon the dream was sadly marred. The peace of Crespy proved the turning-point in Charles's career of duplicity. Having gratified the Protestants as far as he safely could up to that period, he felt himself, by the restoration of amity with France, in a condition gradually, but still with his usual art, to withdraw the mask. The faggots began to blaze in the Low Countries, although, with a dissimulation too

weak to impose on any one, Charles declared that the ground 1545.
of punishment was not religion, but the infringement of an edict published many years before against the Lutherans. At the same moment Francis commenced a fearful butchery of the poor Waldenses; and Ferdinand, who had at least been consistent, turned with revived zest to his persecuting efforts in Austria and Bohemia. All this, in conjunction with the Trent Council, showed a conspiracy of the crowned heads of Europe for the overthrow of the Reformation.

Notwithstanding all his bodily suffering and the frowning of the political storm, Luther maintained an animated and cheerful spirit. The darkest night, he thought, would usher in the glorious morning of Christ's appearance. "Walk to your garden," he replied to a pastor who had written to him in a tone full of despondency, "and look at the violets which are just beginning to peep out. The flower is purple, the colour of affliction; but the purple environs a bright golden eye, which means never-failing faith." Just at this time his "Papacy founded by Satan" was published, whilst the Diet was sitting at Worms. The pictorial talent of Luke Cranach had been called into play, and the frontispiece exhibited the High Priest of Christendom seated on the sacred chair, in the pontifical garb, his hands raised and joined, and asses' ears perking above his head: devils flew round him on all sides: some were putting on his head the triple crown, surmounted with dung; others were gently lowering him by ropes into the bottomless pit, the flames of which were tossing below; and others, with officious zeal, were raising his feet to lighten his descent. Luther further stated in some theses, which appeared about this time, that Popery was an offence against the three hierarchies ordained of God—the ecclesiastical, the political, and the domestic—for it crushed the Gospel, tyrannised over the civil power, and forbade matrimony. It was that German

1545. beast, half bear, half wolf (barwolf), which it was the duty of all, gathering in a company, to chase to death: if it got into a cave or an inclosure, and the prefect of the place should attempt to rescue or defend it, the pursuit must not stop, and those who should hinder the pursuers were beyond the safeguard of the laws. And another caricature represented the Pope sitting astride a sow, with a big paunch and teats sweeping the ground. The Pope was digging into the sides of the sow with spurs: with the two fore fingers of his right hand raised in pontifical fashion, his Holiness blessed the wayfarers: his left hand held a piece of dung fresh and smoking, at which the sow was sniffing, and exerting her body to gain possession of the prize. The sow was Germany; and the piece of dung which the Pontiff was willing to bestow on his greedy beast, provided he were allowed to retain his seat, was the Council. But his caustic force did not content Luther, and he wrote to his friends that his ire had been too feeble, and it was his earnest wish once again to assail Popery, and, like Samson, to make the Philistines feel his dying strength. And this hope was in some measure realized by the publication of his seventy-six theses, in reply to thirty-two propositions against his doctrines, which had emanated from the sophists (magistrolli) of Louvain. Such were his expiring efforts against the Popedom. The Sacramentarians had replied to his "Short Confession," but he returned no answer to their treatise: he did not even read it; it was enough that he was informed of the irrelevant abuse heaped upon him. With such evidence that he was no Sacramentarian, he said that he could leave the world with happiness.

The Diet of Worms afforded fresh intimations of the subtle path of ill-dissembled enmity to the Protestants, which the Emperor was treading. Charles was laid up at Brussels with

the gout when the Diet was opened, and was not able to make 1545.
his entry into Worms until the 15th of May. The Papal nuncio, Cardinal Farnese, passed from Trent, where he found only a few bishops assembled, into Germany, and had an interview with the Emperor; but after a few days he quitted Worms very unexpectedly, having accomplished his errand by convincing himself of Charles's real aversion to the Protestants, and probably made arrangements with him as to the money and forces which the religious war would require. He found that Charles did not wish the Council to begin its deliberations at present; matters were not sufficiently advanced, and some terms must still be kept with the Protestants a little longer. And accordingly Paul III. postponed the opening of the Council until October, and it was not actually opened until the 13th December. The deliberations of the Diet, as between Charles and "the Orders of the Augsburg Confession," began and ended in reciprocal demands which neither party was willing to admit. The Protestants claimed that intestine peace should be secured without the condition of their accepting the Council: the Emperor required them to acknowledge it, which they persisted in refusing to do, because the place of meeting was not in Germany, in contravention of former edicts, and the Pope claimed to be President. Frederic, who had succeeded to the Palatine Electorate by the death of his brother Louis in the previous year, and was at this period establishing the Reformation in his dominions, acted as mediator between the parties, but with no effect: he had little weight with the Protestants, and his change of religion rendered him unacceptable to Charles. But in fact, the Emperor's line of policy had been already deliberately chosen, and he never swerved from a decision formed on mature thought. In the matter of the religious discussions between

1545. the Archbishop of Cologne and his subjects on the one side, and the Cathedral Chapter on the other, the Emperor took the cause of the Canons under his protection, and summoned the Archbishop to appear and answer for his conduct before him; whilst, by a mutual understanding, the Pope pronounced his excommunication. But, with his habitual insincerity, Charles still assumed the semblance of wavering before he definitely committed matters to the arbitrement of the sword: and with specious moderation he postponed the further consideration of religious questions to another Diet, to assemble at Ratisbon, preparatory to which the reconciliation of differences was again to be attempted by chosen theologians from the two parties.

Meantime, Luther was entirely disabled, by the return in full force of his old complaints; first, pains in the head, so excruciating that one of his eyes became affected and nearly lost the power of sight; then, towards the end of June, an attack of the stone—so long continued with greater or less intensity—that he was subjected to exquisite tortures, and the report current in Italy and elsewhere that he was dead gained credence with many. Strange events were stated to have followed his decease. It was asserted in print, that at the point of death he had received the Sacrament, and with his dying breath had required that his dead body should be placed on the altar to be worshipped as God. The request had not been complied with; but after his remains had been laid in the tomb, a violent tempest had obscured the sky and seemed to threaten universal destruction: the wafer which Luther had received with his dying lips was seen suspended in the air, and with the greatest reverence was received and deposited in a sacred place, when an immediate calm was restored. The ensuing night strange commotions were heard in his tomb, which was opened the next morning; but the flesh, bones,

body, and shroud were gone; only a sulphureous stench 1545.
exuded from the spot, which struck many with sickness, and proved the means of converting great numbers from heresy.* Luther caused this statement to be printed again, with a postscript to the effect that "he had read, on the 21st of March, the rabid fiction with extreme joy. It was sweet to his inmost soul to be such an object of abhorrence to the devil, and his spawn, the Pope and the Papists. He prayed for the conversion of the Papists. But if prayers for them should be unavailing, would to God that they might fill up the measure of their iniquities."

Dr. Ratzenberg, the Elector's physician, was sent to attend Luther, and was able to relieve the head in a considerable degree by means of a cautery in the leg: and after some days, Luther was again able to walk to church and even to preach. But he continued very weak; and ill health and old age made him more susceptible of trials. He had meditated quitting Wittenberg for the quite retreat of Zuhlsdorf some time before; but had been prevailed upon, by the fervent entreaties of Bugenhagen and others, to relinquish such an intention. But about the middle of July, in 1545, he left Wittenberg very suddenly, and first paid a visit, with Johnny, to Ernest Schonfeld, at Lobnitz; then to Scherl, at Leipsic, whence he passed to Merseburg, to Prince George of

* After Luther's actual death, a Protestant story, in imitation of this Romanist one, stated that his coffin laid on the bier was at first so heavy that the bearers could scarcely move it, and then suddenly became so light, that they set down the bier and opened the coffin to see what had happened. The body was gone; and three great rats jumped out of the coffin. One of them ran to the monasteries, and gnawed away the bolts and locks; the second ran to Rome, to the Pope's Chancery, and nibbled off the seals of the Indulgence letters; the third ran to Hell, and put out the fire of Purgatory (pissete das Fegefeuer aus)."—Keil. IV. p. 279.

1545. Anhalt, and finally took up his quarters with Amsdorf, at Zeitz. The neglect of God's Word, and the many signs of worldly-mindedness amongst the people of Wittenberg, particularly the style of female dress, had so provoked him, that he had formed the resolution never to return to Wittenberg, but to settle down for his few remaining days at Zuhlsdorf: and he wrote to Kate from Leipsic the end of July, as follows: "Beloved Kate, John will tell you how our journey has gone, and if he should not remain with me, Dr. Caspar Cruciger and Ferdinand will tell you. Ernest Schonfeld entertained us hospitably at Lobnitz, but Henry Scherl far more hospitably at Leipsic. I should rejoice never to have to return to Wittenberg. My heart is chilled, so that I cannot be there with pleasure. I should wish you to sell the garden and the close, the house and court, and I will give back the great house to my good lord: it were best for you to settle at Zuhlsdorf, whilst I am still alive and could help you to better the little property with my stipend, which I hope my good lord will suffer to follow me, at least for one year of my last days. After my death, the four elements will not easily endure you at Wittenberg: it were therefore much better to see in my lifetime what must be done when I am gone. To judge by appearances, Wittenberg, with its government, is about to dance, not St. Vitus's dance, nor St. John's dance, but the Beggars' dance, or Beelzebub's dance; so they have begun, women and maidens, to uncover themselves behind and before; and there is no one to punish or restrain, and God's Word is mocked. Come away out of this Sodom. I have heard in the country more than I learn at Wittenberg, and am weary of the town and will not return, so help me God. After to-morrow I shall go to Merseburg, for Prince George has sore entreated me to visit him. I shall ramble about, and had rather eat the bread of a beggar

than torture and disquiet my poor old last days with their 1545.
disorderly ways at Wittenberg. Let Dr. Bugenhagen and Master Philip learn as much: and let Dr. Bugenhagen pronounce my blessing upon Wittenberg. I can no longer restrain my wrath and disgust. Herewith I commend you to God. Amen." The people of Wittenberg were deeply agitated at the determination of the Reformer to quit their town. Melancthon declared that he must leave Wittenberg also, unless Luther returned. In this state of things the University represented the strong current of general feeling on the subject to the Elector, who sent a very gracious letter, regretting that Luther had not informed him of his plans, in which case he would have sent an escort to attend him; for, although God's angel was always with him, the dangers of travelling ought to be guarded against; and further, he requested that he would pay him a visit at Torgau, to make arrangements in reference to the approaching Conference at Ratisbon. Luther went to Torgau, and was prevailed upon by John Frederic, although sorely against his inclination, to return to Wittenberg, which he did the third week in August.

Peace was now made between the Emperor and the Sultan. "The Pope, the Emperor, the Gaul, and Ferdinand," Luther relates, "have sent a most splendid embassy, laden with precious silks to the Turk, to sue for peace. But the best part of the story is, that, not to offend Turkish eyes, they have changed the attire of their country for the long Turkish tunic. The embassy, it is said, sailed from Venice the 21st June. Are these Christians? No—they are infernal masks of the devil. O, joyful signs of the close of all things!" This peace with the Turks was the removal of the last political impediment to the accomplishment of Charles's ulterior designs: and little now remained to be done save to muster his troops and provide for their maintenance.

1545. But the war between France and England still continued, and the French monarch had commissioned the exiled Duke of Brunswick to levy forces for him against Henry VIII., and had supplied him with money for the purpose. The Duke of Brunswick, without much difficulty, raised the required troops; but his thoughts were upon his own fortunes; and, with the army destined for a very different use, and paid by France, he made an invasion of his own duchy, took the fortress of Steinbruck, pillaged the country far and wide, burning the villages, and laid siege to Wolfenbuttel. However, the forces of the Schmalkald league, headed by the Landgrave, soon took the field against him; Duke Maurice gave his assistance to the Elector and Prince of Hesse; and, after some negotiations, which proved entirely fruitless from the reckless disregard to truth which characterised the Duke
Oct. 21. of Brunswick, the dispositions of his forces by the Landgrave for battle promised an easy victory, when the Duke and his son surrendered themselves to his mercy. This event filled Luther with gratitude; and he wrote to the Elector and the Prince of Hesse, that the hand of Providence was to be marked in their bloodless triumph; and now they had Mezentius in their hands, they were by no means to let him go unless he repented of his blasphemies.*

1546. Jan. 27. Early in the ensuing year the appointed conference of theologians was opened at Ratisbon. George Major represented the Wittenberg school; for Luther had begged that Melancthon might be spared the vexatiousness of another conference, on the ground that his health was feeble, that the whole affair was an imperial stratagem, and even if it should prove more than a farce, the Papists could not pro-

* Albert, the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz, died on the 24th September, 1545.

duce a man of any account, at least none for whom Major 1546.
was not more than a match. The proceedings had not been long continued when a mandate from the Emperor abruptly broke up the discussions. The Emperor insisted that the minutes of what passed at the conference should not be communicated to any one save himself, with which the Protestants refused to comply; and he also constituted Julius Pflug one of the presidents of the conference, whom he styled Bishop of Naumburg, and thus took his cause under his patronage against the Elector of Saxony, as he had before done that of the Cologne canons, against their Archbishop.

As regards the Council, its first session had taken place on the 13th December, the third Sunday in Advent, and the second session was postponed until the 7th January. The intervening time was engrossed with arranging matters of ceremony, the mode of voting, which it was determined should be, not by nations, but individually, and other preliminaries. Cotemporaneously the Schmalkald Allies were holding a meeting at Frankfort, and deliberating on the Trent Council, the protection to be afforded the Archbishop of Cologne, and on making suit to the Emperor at the approaching Diet at Ratisbon, that he would grant religious peace and the reformation of the Imperial Chamber. Their eyes were just beginning to be half opened to the long tissue of dissimulation and artifice, of which they had proved the too ready dupes.

Before the close of the preceding year, Luther had promised the Counts of Mansfeld to go to Eisleben, and endeavour to arrange some differences which had broken out between them in regard to their respective jurisdictions. This promise was the more considerate, because the season of the year was little opportune for travelling in the case of an

1546. infirm and sickly person, and Luther already in the autumn had paid a visit to Eisleben on invitation, without the desired effect of restoring harmony. The family of the Counts of Mansfeld consisted of two branches, derived from two brothers. Ernest and Hoyer were the sons of Albert; Ernest was dead, but had left two sons, the Counts Philip and John George; the sons of Ernest, Albert's brother, were Counts Albert and Gebhard. The Albertine branch remained steadfast to Romanism; the Ernestine had embraced the evangelical faith, and were personally as well as religiously much attached to Luther. But it had been already proved to both families, that private motives had no influence upon the Reformer's judgment. The revenues of the family were principally drawn from extensive mines of silver and copper, worked by their subjects, with the appropriation of one-tenth of the produce to the Counts of Mansfeld as lords of the soil. The mines proved sources of enormous wealth, and the Counts became of opinion, especially Albert, that the proportion allotted to themselves was too small, in the great prosperity of the district, and put in force a claim for a larger dividend. Luther undertook the cause of the miners, and had himself remonstrated earnestly with Count Albert on his harshness and exorbitancy. Other quarrels, such as are sure to spring from the full-blown bag of avarice, quickly followed, and set the heads of the house of Mansfeld at variance with one another on various questions of very difficult adjustment. Hence an entreaty, in which all members of the family united, was forwarded to Luther that he would act as mediator, and was answered by him in a letter to Count Albert, dated the 8th December: "He would be at Mansfeld soon after the end of the Leipsic market, and leave it to both parties to name a day: he would devote eight days to the business, although he had much to do; but he should lay him down with peace in

his coffin if he had first seen his dear landlords friendly and 1546.
of one mind."

In a letter of the 17th January, to his friend James Probst of Bremen, Luther describes himself as "old, decrepit, inert, wearied, cold, and deprived of sight in one eye." Six days afterwards, on the 23rd, he left Wittenberg, on his journey to Eisleben, accompanied by his three sons, and his servant Ambrose, and arrived at Halle at eight o'clock the same evening. The 25th, Monday, he wrote to Kate from Halle—"We have not been able to pursue our road to Eisleben, for there met us a great Anabaptist, with billows of water, and huge blocks of ice who deluged the land, and threatened us with anabaptism. We could not return on account of the Mulda; so we resolved to lie quiet at Halle between the waters. We were not athirst however for the water, but drank good Torgau beer, and good Rhenish wine, wherewith we refreshed ourselves, and solaced our delay if the Saala should again overflow with rage. It would have been tempting God to have trusted ourselves to the water, for the devil is wrath with us, and dwells in the water: it is better to prevent than complain, and there is no need we should be fools' sport to the Pope and his spawn. I could never have thought the Saala could have turned such a sot and broken over carriage road and everything. I have no more to say, than that you must pray for us and be cheerful. If you had been here, you would have advised what we have done, and for once we should have taken your advice. Herewith I commend you to God. Amen." The next day Luther preached on the conversion of St. Paul, and for three days Luther was detained at Halle in Dr. Jonas's house, and was at last obliged to effect his passage in a boat, not without some danger. On the 28th, in company with Justus Jonas, Cœlius, pastor of Eisleben, and John Goldsmith, and his three sons,

1546. he entered Eisleben. "He was received by the Counts of Mansfeld, and an escort of more than a hundred horsemen, and entered the town," writes Maimburg, "more like a prince than a prophet, amidst the salute of cannon, and the ringing of the bells in all the churches."

On the road to Eisleben Luther suffered from a return of those violent pains in the chest, with oppression of the breath, which had first attacked him more than a year before; and when, dizzy with pain and extreme weakness, he reached the lodging prepared for him in Dr. Drachstadt's house, fears were entertained for his life, and he himself charged Satan with endeavouring as usual to thwart his plans, when they seemed the nearest their accomplishment. But warmth was restored by continued friction with hot cloths. "On the journey I walked beyond my strength," he wrote to Melancthon the 1st February, "and when I got into the carriage again the perspiration chilled on me, and cold seized the sinews of the left arm." The same day he wrote to his "heart-loved house-wife, Catherine Lutherin Doctoress Zulsdorferess Sow-marketress, and whatever more she may be. Grace and peace in Christ, and my old poor love, in the first place. Dear Kate—I was very weak on the road hard before Eisleben. That was my own fault. If you had been here, you would have said it was the fault of the Jews or their God. Before we reached Eisleben we passed through a village full of Jews: and perhaps they blew an evil blast upon me. And in Eisleben, at this moment, there are more than fifty Jews. However, it is true that, when I was close to their village, there came such a cold wind behind in the carriage upon my head through the baret, as if it would turn my head to ice. This may have had something to do with my giddiness; but I am now in good case, excepting that the pretty women set so hard at me that I have no care to requite

all their attentions. I drink Neunburg beer, which you have 1546.
praised to me from Mansfeld, and like it well. Your little sons left Mansfeld the day before yesterday; John of Jena so humbly prayed them to visit him."

The weather had become much milder, and Luther's health seemed improved by the change in the atmosphere; but the business which had been the object of his journey progressed at a very leisurely pace. "I entreat you," he wrote to Melancthon, "to prevail with the Elector, through Dr. Bruck, to recall me: perhaps, in this way I may hasten the work of concord. In every syllable they fancy poison to be hidden. This is, indeed, logomachy or logomany; but we owe it to the lawyers, who have taught the world cavillings and quibblings, until their tongue is more confused than any Babylon. There no one could understand the other; here none wishes to understand the other. You sycophants! you sophists! pests of mankind!" A letter to Kate, the same day, directed her to tell Master Philip to correct his "Postil," as he had failed to comprehend why in the Gospel the Lord called riches thorns. "Here is the school," he continued, "where the reason may be readily learnt. But it pains me that always in Holy Scripture the thorns are threatened with the fire; wherefore, I show the more patience, if by God's help I might effect some good. Your little sons are still at Mansfeld." The next day, after this letter had been sent, an epistle was received from Kate, full of anxiety about her husband's health, the perils of travelling, and the various casualties which she feared might befall him. Luther replied immediately: "Do read, thou dear Kate—St. John and the Short Catechism—of which you once said, 'All in the book is spoken about me.' You must, forsooth, take care for your God, as though God were not Almighty, and could not make

1546. ten Dr. Martins if the one old one should be drowned in the Saal. Leave me in peace. I have a better one to care for me than you or all the angels, even Him who laid in the manger and hung on the virgin's breast, but is seated likewise at the right hand of God. Therefore be in peace. Amen." Kate's solicitude continued unabated, and Luther again laboured to inspire confidence; "Most saintly Lady Doctoress, we thank you very kindly for your great care, which you say will not suffer you to sleep; for ever since you have cared so anxiously about us, we have narrowly escaped destruction; a fire broke out in our lodging, close to my study door; and yesterday, without doubt, by virtue of your care, a stone had all but fallen on my head, and crushed me like a mouse. If you do not cease to care, at least the earth will swallow me up, and all the elements turn my persecutors. Do you study your Catechism and Belief. Do you pray and leave God to care; cast all your care upon him, for he careth for you. God be praised, I am brisk and well, save that this business is very troublesome." Besides attention to the arrangement of differences, to which an hour or so of each alternate day was devoted, Luther examined and gave his approval to a scheme of Church Reform, once received absolution publicly, and the Lord's Supper twice, and ordained two priests, and preached four times, not forgetting the Jews, the Pope, and the Council, amidst large assemblies of the miners and country people. His last sermon was preached on the 15th February, (St. Matthew's day), and his text was Matthew xi. 25—30. The subject was the contrast between the wisdom of the children of this world, and of the children of the next. And he concluded with the words: "I am too weak to say more. The dear God give grace, that we may receive his precious word with thanksgiving, grow and in-

crease in the knowledge and faith of his son, our Lord Jesus 1546.
Christ, and in the confession of his holy word, steadfastly abide unto the end. Amen."

On the 14th February he received the letter which he had desired from the Elector, remanding him home, and he wrote the same day to Melancthon to apprise him of his intended speedy return, and requested that a messenger might be sent to meet him on the way, with some of the corrosive ointment for his leg, which he had unfortunately forgotten to take with him, and now felt the need of, for the wound in his leg had healed, which was dangerous. The mandate from the Elector had the effect, which Luther had anticipated, of expediting the settlement of differences, and an arrangement was effected between the Counts of Mansfeld in regard to clerical patronage, and the maintenance of schools, which was an important point gained. Luther was in high spirits with this measure of success, and wrote to Kate, the same day, the last letter which appears in his correspondence: "Grace and peace in the Lord, dear Kate. We hope to return home this week, if God will. God has shown us great goodness; for the lords, by their councillors, have made it up, as far as two or three articles, amongst which is, that the two brothers, Count Gebhard and Albert shall be brothers again, which I shall take in hand to-day, and shall invite them to dine with me, that they may speak with one another; for hitherto they have not been on speaking terms, and have embittered the quarrel by writings. The young lords are very merry, and go out sledging together, and the little ladies too, and bring one another presents and good things, and also Count Albert's son. We may perceive that God hears prayer. I send you some trout, which the Countess Albert has presented to me; she is from her heart rejoiced to have concord. Your little sons are still at Mansfeld. James Luther will take

1546. good care of them. We eat and drink like the lords, and are so well attended to, that we might well forget you at Wittenberg. I am not troubled with the stone."

On the morning of Wednesday the 17th, Luther complained of not feeling well, and was advised by Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and the Count of Schwartzburg, the councillors of the Counts of Mansfeld, not to attempt any business during the day, but to remain quiet in his parlour. He walked up and down the room half dressed, and sometimes looked out of the window, and prayed with a fervour which excited the attention of those in the room with him. His habitual cheerfulness was in full vigour, but occasionally he said to Justus Jonas and Michael Cœlius, the pastor of Eisleben, who had been in constant attendance upon him—"I was born and baptized at Eisleben, and I shall die here." Before dinner he was seized with oppression of the chest, and the remedy which was now customary with him, and had been resorted to almost every day during his stay at Eisleben (friction with hot cloths), was tried and afforded some relief. When dinner time came he exclaimed, "There is no joy in being alone," and removed from his parlour into the large dining apartment, and sat down with the rest of the company and ate with a good appetite, conversing freely and jesting in his usual vein of humour. The conversation fell on the shortness of life, and he observed—"When an infant of one year old dies, probably one or two thousand throughout the world die at the same time and age; but were I, an old man of sixty-three years, to die, not more than sixty or a hundred of the same age would quit this life with me. Men do not now live to such great old age as formerly; God builds a new world every twenty years, and fills his kingdom with children." As the conversation proceeded, the inquiry was put, whether relatives would recognise one another in the

future world. "To be sure," Luther answered; "when 1546.
Adam awoke from his sleep, he did not question Eve, whom he had never seen, whence or who art thou? but at once declared, 'This is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.' How did he know that she had not sprung to life from a stone? Because he was full of the Holy Ghost, and had the true knowledge of God. When we are restored to this knowledge and the Divine image in the next life, we shall recognise our parents and one another by face." After dinner he again complained of pain in the chest, and had hot cloths applied to the chest and back, but would not permit medical aid to be summoned; and when Count Albert expressed his concern, he assured him that he already felt better. He laid down on a couch and slept very composedly in the parlour for two hours and a half, and desired those present to go to bed, and awoke about ten o'clock, and requested that his bed in his sleeping apartment might be warmed. Before he was conducted to his sleeping room, he gave his hand to each of those present, and wished them good-night in the form of words which he had used on retiring to rest for three weeks previously—"Pray to God to bless the cause of his Church, for the Council of Trent is the Pope in very deed;" and on crossing the doorway he repeated the text, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." He laid down on his bed to sleep, and his two younger sons, Martin and Paul, (John was absent at the time,) his servant Ambrose, Jonas and Cœlius remained in the apartment, watching him. About one o'clock he called Ambrose, and ordered him to warm the parlour. When Dr. Jonas asked him how he felt, he exclaimed, "O Lord God, how ill I am! Yes, dear Dr. Jonas, I was born and baptized at Eisleben, and shall remain here." "Reverend father," Jonas replied, "our heavenly Father will succour you for Christ's sake, whom you have preached." Luther walked

1546. up and down the room two or three times, but the pain continued, and he called for hot cloths. A summons was now sent for medical help; his host and hostess were called up, and Count Albert and the Countess were apprised of Luther's state. All came with great speed, the Countess bringing an ample supply of aquavitæ and every kind of costly medicine that she could think of. Luther was lying upon the couch in great pain when they entered the apartment. The Countess administered to him aquavitæ and chafed his forehead and hands with aromatic water. Luther continued in extreme pain, and cried aloud, "O Lord God, what pain I suffer! I shall remain at Eisleben." "Call on Jesus Christ, reverend father," said Jonas and Cœlius, "our Lord and Priest and only Mediator, whom you have preached. You are in a profuse perspiration. God grant that you may get better." "It is the cold sweat of death," Luther replied. "I shall yield up my spirit, for my illness grows worse." He then prayed aloud in these words — "O heavenly Father, God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all comfort, I thank thee that thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son Jesus Christ, whom I have preached, confessed, loved, and adored: my Saviour and dearest Redeemer, whom the impious Pope and the ungodly persecute, revile and blaspheme —I pray thee, my Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Presently he added, "O heavenly Father, although I must quit this body, and be torn from this life, yet I certainly know that I shall remain with thee throughout eternity, and no one shall pluck me out of thy hand." These words were followed by his reciting texts of Scripture, which he repeated, according to his custom, in Latin—"God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the

issues from death." Here one of the physicians gave him a costly medicine, which had been reserved as a last expedient. He received it, and immediately afterwards said, "I am dying, and shall soon render up my spirit;" and then thrice repeated —"Into thine hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth." A sudden change appeared to pass over him—he became silent and closed his eyes. The Countess continued to bathe his temples, and the physicians were assiduous in their efforts to restore animation by hot cloths and rubbing. But his end was evidently fast approaching, and Justus Jonas in a clear voice inquired, "Reverend father, do you die in the constant confession of Christ, and the doctrine which you have preached?" Audibly and distinctly he answered, "Yes." He afterwards turned on his right side and slept for about a quarter of an hour, which gave his friends a feeble hope that he might yet revive. The physicians moved the candles towards him and examined his countenance minutely; they observed that his face was becoming more and more pallid, and they felt his feet, and they were already quite cold. Shortly afterwards, a little before three o'clock, he drew a deep but gentle sigh, and, without moving a foot, or any apparent symptom of pain, peaceably resigned his spirit to God. 1546.

CHAPTER IX.

In comparing man with man, and estimating the relative greatness of those who are handed down from age to age as great men, it is necessary to keep in view that the true measure of individual force and greatness of character, is only to be accurately ascertained by considering the nature of the work appointed the individual in the economy of divine Providence, and his peculiar adaptation for the part assigned. Estimated by this universal rule, it must be confessed that Luther holds a position second to none of all those who have filled the largest space in the eye of the world, and only yields to the inspired teachers and first apostles of the Christian revelation.

Ere this "poor Reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and in the inspired spirit of poverty, restored the Christian religion," that semblance of Christianity to which the primitive faith had at length been melted down and transmuted by human ingenuity in a long course of ages, was a mere priest-craft. Forms and shadows had been prized and multiplied, until the life and substance, of which they were at first regarded as the safe-guards, were completely lost sight of by the large mass of professing Christians. The officials of religion had persuaded the multitude that religion was their peculiar and exclusive domain; and had thus led the people to look up to them implicitly for guidance, and rely on their faith and piety as substitutes for their own: and the effect gradually wrought on those who thus denominated them-

selves the *clergy*, God's special inheritance, was the converting holy things into a lucrative privilege, and trading on the consciences and fears of the *laity*. Under such a system the distinctive doctrines of Christianity faded away one by one from the popular apprehension: not that they were authoritatively cancelled by that religious council board which styled itself the *Church*, but that they were practically obliterated by ceremonies and trifles, to which superstition attached a value, and from which the Church derived a revenue. Nearly the same stages had been passed through in the Christian, at this period, as in the Jewish Church at the era of the Saviour; and the result was similar—the commandments of God were set at nought by human traditions. Payment of money to those who offered up Christ for the quick and dead every day, could purchase the atonement of any sin; or some bodily exercises, muttering prayers, fastings, pilgrimages, or self-torture, or the absolution of the priest, or the Pope's indulgence letter, could expiate the heinousness of the worst crime. Repentance simply meant *penance*: it was no longer an inward change, but an outward discipline, and was under the regulation of the clergy; to offend against an ecclesiastical ordinance or precept was a more flagrant transgression than the breach of a law of God's moral code. Thus the true nature of sin was forgotten, as well as the only real atonement for sin obscured. To become a priest was to choose God, to enter on a life of holiness: to take the vow of celibacy, and fly from the world, and bury the head in the retreat of a convent, was to espouse Christ, to be admitted to "the state of perfection," and walk in a meritorious pathway which assuredly led to heaven. The people approached God by his priests, as their intercessors; or besought other intercessors, Mary and the saints, to plead for them in heaven. Books had been written, and documents forged, which in the

lapse of time had grown of venerable authority, to rivet these chains of the clergy more firmly on the minds of the laity: but as, with all its aberrations from truth, the Church still revered the writings of the early Fathers, and dared not deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, it really carried in its own bosom the seeds of the destruction of this idolatrous system of priestcraft and ritual, and the germ of a revived order of things. And hence the clasp and lock were put upon the Bible, and sentinels of the Church guarded the entrance, that none should approach the fearful deposit without due warrant from the hierarchy.

Luther proceeded from the very strictest of the order of friars, who almost entirely monopolized the ecclesiastical virtue of the times, administered parochial duties as vicars, and episcopal as suffragans, and without whom, Machiavel observes, that in the widespread degeneracy of Christendom, Christianity must have become totally extinct. Concern for his soul, and terror of God, drove Luther to become a member of the Augustinian fraternity: and monkery was really used by him for the purpose for which such a life had first been selected—as a means of earning heaven by a meritorious life of self-denial. But he felt with agonising and increasing power the difficulties, and at length started back from the impossibility of the task which he had imposed upon himself; he had set out on the journey to heaven by the strict and secluded pathway of conventualism with all the energy of his soul; but he stumbled at the first outset; though he celebrated mass every day, prayed, fasted, and did penance, and wore out his body with self-discipline, he had no peace. His conscience upbraided him with the constant breach of those ordinances, to transgress which was called sin by the monks; and although he afterwards learnt that these were only sins of man's creating—*peccata ficta et picta*—as

he termed them, yet like the Jew, "shut up by the Law unto the Gospel," he found his feet so entangled, and his progress so fettered, by this network of human inventions, that it was with joy, greatly enhanced by his conviction of failure even in the attempt to observe imaginary duties, that he at last burst from such bondage into the liberty of him whom the Son of God makes free. The shades of the monastery were favourable for converse with his own heart: and he found that seclusion from the outer world and its forms of external evil, seemed only to deepen the power and vitality of evil in his own heart, and he became painfully and overpoweringly conscious of an inherent ineradicable depravity. All this spiritual discipline, accompanied by the deeper and deeper study of God's Word, the most important truths of which were pointed out to him by the Vicar-General of his order, a mystic, like many others of that age, impressed on his soul, in characters not to be effaced, the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," and the existence of such sin in a most intense degree, without any regard to its manifestation in outward act, in the recesses of his own heart. This was exactly the spiritual experience and heaven-born conviction fundamentally necessary in the man who was to overthrow a Pelagian system, such as Romanism, and republish the humbling truths of the doctrine of Christ. And thus in all his writings, conviction of sin is one of the most obvious and striking features: the conviction became more and more profound, as his Christian experience advanced, till at last he subscribed himself, instead of "Luther," "*Christi lutum*:" but it is remarkably exhibited in his earliest writings. He thus wrote in his first Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians—"Be it that I have not committed, *in act*, homicide, adultery, theft, and other sins of such a kind, against the second table of God's commands: yet I have committed them in heart. Wherefore I am a trans-

gressor of all the commandments of God, and so great is the multitude of my sins, that an ox-hide could not encompass them. Nay, they are not to be numbered; I have sinned more times than the sea has sands." "All our own works," he said at a later period, "be they ever so precious, are nothing better than death and poison."

But this conviction of sinfulness, as appertaining not only to the life, but defiling the seat of the thoughts and motives, the heart, did not come alone: had it done so, it would have only produced despair. The "sentence of death in himself" was rapidly succeeded by the assurance of life in Christ: and though despair often tried to gain the mastery, faith in the one sacrifice for sin, through the strength of the Holy Ghost, proved "more than conqueror over subdued and unsubdued iniquity." He wrote on this subject in the Commentary just quoted as follows:—"Hypocrites, ignorant of Christ, although they feel remorse for sin, yet think that they shall easily atone for it by their own works and merits. And they would have those words—'Who gave himself for our sins,' to be words spoken in humility, so as to mean for sins not serious and true, but nominal and fictitious sins. Human reason would like to bring to God a feigned, a pretended sinner, one who had no terror on account of sin, and no sense of sin: it would fain bring the whole, who has no need of the physician, and then, without any sense of guilt, believe that 'Christ was delivered for our sins.' The entire world is of this mind; especially those in the world who wish to be more religious and holy than others, as they dream, that is, the monks and all work-mongers. These with the lip confess that they are sinners; they confess that they commit sins every day, but not so vast and multitudinous, but by their own works they can do them away. Nay, more than this, they want to bring their holiness and merits to the tribunal of Christ, and

demand for them from their Judge the payment of eternal life. Meanwhile, as a humble fraternity, not to be quite sinless, they *imagine* a few sins, that they may beg pardon for these, and with great devotion, pray with the publican, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' . . . This, therefore, is the special science and wisdom of the Christian, to take these words as serious and most true, that Christ was delivered to death, not for our holiness and sanctity, but for our sins, which are real, vast, many, nay, infinite, and unsubdued. Do not imagine them small, such as your works can do away. Do not despair at their number, when you truly feel them in life, or in the hour of death; but believe that Christ for no feigned and pretended, but for real sins; for sins not small, but the very greatest; not for one or two sins, but for all sins; not for subdued sins (for no man, no angel, can subdue the very least sin), but for sins unsubdued, was delivered to death." When Luther, from this awful consciousness of his own ineradicable iniquity, had emerged to the daylight of eternal life by the knowledge of Christ, the whole Scripture became intelligible to him. Repentance, he now saw, meant the thorough change worked by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which, instead of looking to self, turns to Christ for every thing. Through types and emblems, rites and ordinances, he beheld Christ, "of whom the Bible spoke, and of whom it spoke alone:" and year after year, as it ripened his spiritual experience, confirmed his trust in the Sun of righteousness, the centre of the entire Christian system. "In my heart," he said, many years afterwards, "reigns, and alone shall reign, this one article, viz., faith in my dear Lord Christ, who of all my spiritual thoughts day and night is the beginning, the middle, and the end." "I sometimes, in order to apprehend the great truth of justification by faith

alone the better," he wrote to Brentz in a postscript to a letter of Melancthon to him on that subject, "put the case to myself thus, that there is in my heart no quality or virtue that can be called faith or love (as the sophists speak thereof and dream); but I put all simply on Christ, and say, He is my formal righteousness, my certain, stable, complete righteousness, wherein is no want or fail; all I should be before God, that Christ my Lord is to me."

This was indeed restoring the Sun to the theological firmament, from which by a long eclipse it seemed to be blotted out. Works of charity and piety, which the Papists had magnified and extolled until their vicious theology had marked its traces in the most awful irreligion and wide-spread immorality, were once more placed in their proper relation to their only true source and principle, faith in the Divine word that Christ is the only Saviour. "Faith," Luther said, "is the sun of all those rays of good works." He exceedingly disliked such expressions as "The Christian is *bound* to do good works;" such a phrase, he objected, savours of legality, and is as absurd as to say, "The sun ought to shine;" "A good tree ought to yield fruit." "Believers," he insisted, "are a new creation, a new tree; the workman must precede his work: faith is always operative inevitably." And he saw with equal clearness that justification by faith, the work of promise, or the gift of the Holy Spirit, being in every case perfect, cannot admit of degrees. "We are all equally righteous or just in our one Christ; we are all equally beloved and acceptable in point of character; yet star differs from star in brightness, although God loves the star of Saturn as much as the sun or the moon." He traced with scriptural clearness the genealogical tree, as it may be called, of the Christian life: simple Faith in Christ the trunk or stem, the

parent of Love; and again, Love the parent of Obedience. "There are many false Christians," he wrote,* "who boast of Christ, like the faithless Cain, and yet remain without any fruit of faith. Therefore the Apostle speaks here not of the means of deliverance from sins and death into life, but of the test whereby a man may be assured of this; not of the cause, but of the effect . . . For faith is not such a thing as can lie alone and dead: but where it lives in the heart, it shows its power. The heart, in which is shed abroad trust and sure confidence in God's grace and love, is moved to be good, friendly, gentle, patient towards every neighbour, is void of all hate, and willingly serves every one, should need be, with body and life. Such fruit proves and testifies that verily such a man *is* passed from death unto life. The faith that acknowledges God's grace and goodness in deliverance out of death into life, enkindles the heart to love in return and do all good, even to enemies, as God has done to him." "When I have the righteousness of Christ within me," Luther says again in a noble passage in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, "I descend from heaven, like a shower fertilizing the earth: that is, I go forth into another region, and do good works, whatsoever I can. If I am a minister of the word, I preach, comfort the weak, administer the sacraments: if a father of a family, I rule my house and family, and rear up my children in piety and honesty: if a magistrate, I execute my divine commission: if a servant, I faithfully care for my master's property: in fine, whoever certainly knows Christ to be his Righteousness, he not only from the heart and with joy does good works in his vocation, but out of love subjects himself likewise to the magistrate, even to impious laws, and to all the burdens and dangers of

* Postil to Epistle, Second Sunday after Trinity.—1 John iii. 13—18; Walch. XII. p. 885.

the present life, if need be, because he knows that such is God's will, and that this obedience is well pleasing to God." Luther called this "the doctrine of faith and love;" "Faith makes us lords, but Love makes us servants." And he always taught that the bondslave's obedience, on the principle of service exacted, is not to be compared with the obedience of freedom, the cheerful devotion of the son in his father's house. "It is entitled great nobility, honour, and glory on earth, to be the child of a mighty renowned king or emperor; yet how much higher could any one truly boast himself a son of the highest angel? But what is it all compared with being called, nay, being named and chosen by God himself *his* child, and heir of the high divine Majesty!" "Without love," he would say, "we are nothing, although we could work miracles."

This "golden science, to know Christ," Luther had learnt in the monastery; but his deep acquaintance with divine things might have left behind it no other record than some lines graven on the walls of his cell, as in the case of many others, or some tradition at Erfurth, or among his order, unless God in his wonderful Providence, having fashioned him as his chosen instrument in the shade of the cloister, when the preparation was complete, had set his work in the world before him. Against "human works, the merits of saints and their intercession, and the sacrifice of the mass," the foul dregs to which the Christianity of Romanism had sunk, he preached "Christ crucified," long before he had begun to question the pretensions of Rome, or had ceased to venerate the Pontiff even with fanaticism. When at last the awakening to the real character of the Papacy came, and by firmly grasping one central truth, first one corruption, then another, at length the entire fabric of Romanism lay in ruins at his feet, showing with what earthly materials it had been built up, he rose to

his second grand discovery. The Church, he found, did not consist of prelates, or of the clergy only: nay, the Pope himself, and most of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, were "no part of Christ at all;" but, as Huss had said, the Church was "the universe of predestined souls;" it was the society of true believers, "not only under the Pope, but in all the world." With tremendous power Luther shivered to pieces, in his "Babylonish Captivity," that sacerdotalism, with which, as with a mill-stone tied round it, the Papacy had been sinking the so-called Church to the depths of hell. All the things of Christ, he said, appertained to every believer in common: the priesthood was a common right and privilege of all those anointed kings and priests by the Holy Ghost: to administer the Sacraments and to preach the Word were not restricted to any class in the Church: the *character indelibilis* was a merely human pretence, without the least scriptural foundation: and the minister or pastor simply differed from the ordinary Christian in enjoying the ministerial gift from God, *i. e.* the talent of preaching, recognised by the laying on of hands. The practical influence of this teaching was important in the highest degree. Papal sacerdotalism, had made all worldly callings profane, and distinguished religion from irreligion by reference to outward acts and names, instead of the inward motive and principle. Luther proclaimed that Christianity must pervade every state of life, and enter into every employment and act: "The Word of God must not only reign in the Church, but in the ministration of civil government, and in the domestic household." To dedicate an image of gold to God, to collect saintly relics, or to be buried in the garb of a Franciscan or Dominican, by way of passport to heaven, such things were Romanist follies: but to bring up children in God's fear, to live to God's glory in whatever worldly calling, to do the most humble act of

kindness from a spirit of love, these common-place duties were truly Christian. Yet the secular and the spiritual were still to be kept distinct, for "the two ministries had been sundered by Christ himself." Luther spoke of the delight with which the Elector Frederic had welcomed such a practical exposition of scriptural piety, how he had "his book copied out, bound separately, and sore loved it," rejoicing that, although a layman, he might yet be a Christian prince. "The monks inquire," Luther wrote in his Postil to the Gospel for the First Sunday after the Epiphany, "what sort of life did St. Francis lead? What garments did he wear? We will do and wear the same. But no one, they say, knows what Christ did. Yes, I reply, we are told what Christ did; for it is written, 'He went down with his parents to Nazareth, and was subject unto them.' In such words the Evangelist comprises the whole youth of our dear Lord Christ. That he was subject to his parents means nothing else than that he walked in the paths of the fourth commandment. When his mother said, 'Son, run here or there; bring me a can of water, fetch me beer, wood, straw, &c.,' he ran and fetched them. . . . He did not run into a cloister and become a monk; he went down with them to Nazareth; he remained among the people, and was patiently obedient to father and mother. . . . Every one thinks he can do better and more costly works than the holy little child, Jesus. But this is to forget that household duties and obedience to father and mother have been hallowed by the Holy One, the Son of God, who himself fetched wood and cut it, drew water, and did other such like household duties. Such works are a thousand-fold better and holier works than the works of all the monks in their cloisters for all time." Thus to bring the Scriptures to bear on every relative station of life, and its every most menial duty, was Luther's unceasing care and labour. For this he founded seminaries, insti-

tuted visitations, compiled catechisms, catechised the poor, old and young, composed prayers for their use for morning and night, a Grace for meal-times, a form of instruction for the army chaplains, and wrote his noble hymns; for this he spoke of God's Word in the Church, in the Lecture Hall, at the Elector's table, at dinner with the tradesman, over his tankard of ale with Amsdorf, and to Kate, Johnny, and little Lena by his own fireside. That Christianity might be co-extensive with the whole of secular life, the Word of God was everywhere to be paramount. The Church was "all true believers," and was immovable, the pillar and ground of the truth, as based on Christ, and holding out his word: it could not err, because God's word could not err. The bride of Christ, the Church "heard the Bridegroom's word at bed and at board, and listened to no other's word:" to hearken to the word of any other was to be "a harlot, an adulteress, the apostate of Satan."

He had at first appealed from the Pope to an Œcumenical Council, and he continued to declare that a Council would rightly be convened for deposing the Pope; but he soon discovered that Councils were no less fallible than Pontiffs, and that the standard of truth is the Bible, and the Bible alone. Faith in the Divine Word "made the Christian," and parted off the Church from the world. On God's Word of promise, the Sacraments, the ordinances of prayer and preaching, and all our well-being and safety, temporal and eternal, depended. The Word was the believer's shield and weapon. The devil did not fear the sword, but trembled at the Word. The only true means of regenerating man, and reforming society, lay hid in the Word, the vehicle through which the Spirit of God acted on the heart. "The Scriptures," he would say, "are a great and wide forest, wherein stand many trees of every sort, whereof one may

pluck various kinds of fruit. The Bible contains true consolation, knowledge, counsel, exhortation, warning, promises, and threatenings. Nor is there a single tree in that forest from which I have not knocked off something, and broken off or shaken down a couple of apples or plums." He ever boasted that it was by the wisdom derived from the Bible that he had confuted and overthrown all his adversaries, and conquered Satan's temptations. Of book-learning in general, he spoke very slightingly, in comparison with the one precious volume, "God's greatest treasure on earth." Other books were only valuable in proportion to their tendency to elucidate the book of God, or to lead to the study of it. To the Bible, and to experience, as the two chief sources of instruction, he imputed the development of his mental faculties, and the eminence among his fellow men to which he attained. And he implored Kate to search the Scriptures diligently and regularly, to read them over and over again, especially the Psalms. When she replied, that she thought she had heard the Bible enough, and read a great deal of it every day, "Ah!" Luther answered, "it is this weariness of God's Word, and fancying we understand it, when we know no more about it than a goose, which is the great evil of the times, and produces a large number of new and idle publications, so that the book of God is like again to be thrown into a corner." For himself, he averred, that although a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, he was not yet out of his rudiments, and did not understand perfectly aright his Creed, the Ten Commandments, and his "Our Father." The stream of Scripture, he was fond of repeating, was so deep, and yet so shallow, that a lamb might often wade through it safely, when an elephant would be carried away by the tide. The child-like heart learnt the most from God's Word: and therefore he delighted to instruct Johnny and Magdalene in the Catechism, and professed that

teaching them never failed to extend and deepen his own acquaintance with the Scriptures. The simplest text comprised so much, that he found more in it than he had seen before, on every fresh perusal. To handle the Word was the pastor's noblest function, his "Sabbath of Sabbaths." And the humblest preacher of the Word was generally the most successful: for "the devil overlooked low things, his eyes ran after high things; so God put a poor preacher of the Word beneath his feet, and Satan was tripped up."

For this glorious task, to which he felt and knew that God had called him, of drawing forth the light of Scripture from its concealment, and replacing it in the temple, the palace, the college, the school, and the dwelling-house, he possessed extraordinary endowments of body and mind. In stature, he was not much above the ordinary height, but his limbs were firmly set: he had "an open, right valiant countenance:" a broad, German nose, slightly aquiline: a forehead rather wide than lofty, with beetling brows: large lips and mouth: eyes full of lustre, which were compared to the eagle's or the lion's: short curling dark hair, and a distinguishing wart on the right cheek. In the early part of his career his figure was emaciated to the last degree, subsequently it filled out, and in his latter years inclined to corpulence. His constitution was naturally of the strongest cast; one of the common mould must soon have sunk under his unparalleled energy; and he was never better than with plenty of toil and study, and a moderate diet, such as his accustomed food of a herring and pease. "In Luther," says Varillas, "an Italian head was joined to a German body." In bodily temperament, and in mental qualities, it was the union of gifts rarely found together, that gave him the grasp and compass of power suited to his work. His temperament was at once sanguine and melancholic. He was full of life

and fire, and yet patient and imperturbable. So too in mental faculties: he was endowed with original genius of the highest order: the profoundest mind united to the strongest common sense, and a vivid imagination joined to clear judgment. The deepest of thinkers, he was the simplest of writers. A man of study, he was also a man of the world. Well read in books, he was even yet better read in the human heart—profound yet child-like, sublime yet simple, earnest and enthusiastic, and yet full of comic humour. The chief agent in a most thorough revolution, he yet clung with almost a blind devotion to the past, retained to the last his Latin Bible, and the Romish division of the commandments, and would let nothing go from his hand till, by the plainest evidence, it was wrested from him. A miner's son, yet aristocratic in every sentiment; from staying with the Prince of Anhalt, or the Elector of Saxony, he would pass to an honest tradesman, or a good-natured publican, and be greeted with the warm familiarity of old friendship. From writing to one of the crowned heads of Europe, he would resume the pen to answer some obscure correspondent, a nun or shopkeeper, a forester or fencing-master. The oracle of Wittenberg and of Germany, he was never more in his element than amongst children. He was equally adapted to detect the literary forgeries of the Romish Church, to overcome Dr. Eck in theological disputation, to out-satirize Erasmus, or to preach a sermon to an assembly of illiterate boors. But with such great variety of faculties and character, the chain of consistency was never broken; he was always Luther, without a tinge of affectation or pretension; the man who could not semble or dissemble: the life of an entertainment; and then, plunged in melancholy by the weight of inward trials, or retiring to his study to work day and night at some treatise, which the public interests de-

manded, without tasting food or drink, until the completed manuscript should be sent to the printers.

It is little to be wondered at that his writings cannot be regarded as finished compositions; they exhibit, with scarce an exception, clear signs of the haste with which they were thrown off, but evince all the fulness of Luther's mind—his extraordinary faculty of exhausting a subject, his humour and wit, his fondness for homely proverbs, with his strong sense and clear depth of understanding. The grandeur is more frequently in the thought itself than in the words, but often the majesty of the conception seems to force into its own service all the magnificence of diction. His writings have been called "half battles," and in vigour and energy they have never been surpassed. The muscles of the wrestler seem to stand out with each effort of strength; and when jest succeeds to fervour, the mask of language would seem to be withdrawn, and the laugh on Luther's own countenance to be reflected on the page. Melanethon said of Luther's writings, that "they left their sting behind them:" Erasmus said, that "barbarous as they were, they had thunders and lightnings which shook the heart:" Luther himself was dissatisfied with all of them, except his Catechism, and the treatise on the Bondage of the Will. Never have any other writings produced effects so powerful and universal, notwithstanding the rapidity with which tract followed tract, and commentary commentary. Ranke states, that the issue from the press of Luther's publications amounted in 1518 to 20, 1519 to 50, 1520 to 133, 1521 to 40, 1522 to 130, 1523 to 183—some of these, of course, reprints, but some of them at the same time works of large bulk. The feeblest of them no author save Luther could have struck off; for although a writing of Melancthon might be mistaken by a casual reader for the work of Brentz, or a treatise of Calvin might perhaps be imputed to Beza, the most

casual of readers would not fail to be struck by the originality which characterises the least important offspring of Luther's intellect. As a preacher, Luther is pronounced even by Romanist writers to have been "incomparable." He regarded the perfection of a sermon as consisting in its unity; it is, he said, out of one flower how to make a meadow. And whoever reads his Postils, must be surprised at his singular faculty of expanding one idea — presenting it under every variety of form and illustration, and looking at his subject from every possible point of view. To be effective, he insisted that a sermon ought always to be brief; and in preparing his discourses he studied the subject generally: he did not make notes or pursue the topic into details, but, having grasped the leading principle, poured out of his own fulness to his audience, filling up the interstices with such matter as the occasion or the character of his hearers suggested at the time. "If you preach to the common man," he would say, "on the doctrinal articles of religion, he falls asleep; you must preach the law—place the fire of hell before his eyes, and tell him stories." Luther was ever on the watch to keep the interest of his auditory from flagging. Sometimes he would narrate to them passages from his own Christian experience, or he produced a memorable example from public or private life to enforce a precept; or gave to some fable of the Romish Church a scriptual application; or he spoke of death-bed scenes; or with ardour, which at once won over the popular ear and heart, recited one of those matchless hymns, perhaps just composed by him, which, passing from mouth to mouth, and land to land, were the war-songs of the Reformation, and moved the heart of Germany as the heart of one man. Some of the allusions in Luther's sermons can only be justified by the fact that in that age the pulpit, besides its proper functions, also discharged those now appropriated by the press. But scrip-

tural exposition was, after all, the ground on which his natural and spiritual gifts showed to the most advantage. Here he was at home; the subject had engrossed his ardent mind for years. "The parson," he would repeat, "who cannot make a sermon on a single word of Scripture, is no preacher at all. I read the first commandment—'I am the Lord thy God'—and am arrested by the first word—'I.' Its meaning overpowers me." But the first of preachers and Biblical expositors was the gentlest critic of the discourses of others. Mathesius relates that Luther, being in a country village, attended divine service in the church according to his custom, and heard a very uninteresting sermon. The congregation, as they were returning home, remarked aloud on the defects of the discourse they had just listened to. Luther turned and addressed them—"There are," he said, "greater and lesser lights in the firmament; in God's house are vessels of iron and wood, as well as of silver and gold, but all serve our Lord Christ." But he was more censorious on deficiency of another kind. Whilst he left the adjustment of ceremonies, in a great measure, to individual churches, declaring "We are not the slaves of ceremonies, but their lords," he always required a congruity of adaptation in the parts of the service; and when he once heard an old Latin hymn sung to a new German tune, the jar upon his associations and taste was so harsh, that he pronounced severe animadversion.

That may with truth be said of Luther, which can be asserted of very few religious teachers, that his moral and religious character were his doctrines exemplified. His distinctive characteristic was faith. His Lord God, who had "conferred on him such gifts as he had not granted to many thousands," could "make ten Dr. Martins out of one stone with a word." The cause was not his, but God's, and it *must* prosper, because it was God's cause. His preaching was little

heeded, but he was the ambassador of God, and dared not refrain. The Reformation had given great occasion to avarice and selfishness; rapine preyed on the property of the Church, and he "daily saw poor pastors, with their wives and children, whose hunger looked out of their eyes—who had scarce bread and water, naked of clothing, with nothing of their own; farmer and burgher would not give to them, and the nobles took away from them;" yet for all that, God's Word must be proclaimed, and could not be void. No one ever possessed such a vivid appreciation of unseen realities. Satan, who "blows the pestilence," who devastates the world with misery, who, "when God builds a church, never fails to build his chapel hard by," was continually tracking his steps, thwarting his efforts for good, tempting and harassing him, and had made him in body a very Lazarus. His torment in his head, which "debarred him from reading three verses of the Psalms together without pausing," was entirely supernatural. It was Satan who plagued men in their sleep with dreams and visions; threw into the heart fiery darts of wicked thoughts; interrupted mirth; changed children; raised hobgoblins. In a case of suicide, the murderer was really Satan. Satan had caused the sudden deaths of Emser and of Œcolampadius. And just before Carlstadt's death, a tall black man had sat in his place in the Cathedral of Basle, invisible to those near, but plain to those at a distance. "That was *real death*." Thus God on one side, Satan on the other, were the real actors in the great drama ever progressing on the stage of the world; all others were but *masks*. The Papists, "Heinz and Meinz," and their abettors, were but masks or idols; Satan in reality moved the puppets, and made them his mouthpieces. So on the other side, the man, the horse, the battle-axe, were but outward semblances concealing the hand of the

Most High. The wicked man was but the unruly horse that would fain run his own career; God was the rider, who, through the very fury of man, accomplished his own purposes, making the wrath of the wicked to praise him. He committed himself and all his to God's guidance with the most perfect confidence. "God," he said, "rather than his people should want, would cause the heavens to pour down bread and the rock to gush with water, and the leaves of the trees to become coats and mantles. I verily believe that more persons live than there ever grows food for, and that to the godly the Lord multiplies the corn in the sack, and the meal in the bin, and the loaf on the board, and the morsel in the mouth." He was delighted to repeat "the blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich," and to insist that mercy and charity are the true road to wealth. He would often recount how Thuringia was once a corn-rich country, but had been struck with the curse of barrenness on account of the covetousness of the farmers; how the Netherlands would sink under the indignation of God, because the rate of interest there was usurious. He had tales in abundance of supernatural interpositions, which, in the mouths of most men, would have been simply superstitious, in Luther's mouth were the overflowings of his pervading faith.

This deep principle of faith was the secret of his contempt of disease, of his serenity under the most t.ying circumstances, and of the care with which he shunned wealth, as though the bag of money were a bag of most deadly poison. His liberality was measured by his faith in the divine goodness. He went so far as to spurn the idea of making provision for his wife and children—"His dear God would be sure to provide for them much better than he could." Once, it is related, an impoverished Wittenberg student stood at the door of Luther's parlour, and implored assistance towards a journey which he

was compelled to undertake. Kate replied that they were very poor themselves, and had nothing whatever to give; Luther, however, happened to be near, and, walking to the table, took a silver goblet that was standing on it, and gave it to the student, saying, "Sell this to a goldsmith, and use whatever it may fetch for your journey." It was a proverbial phrase with him—"We must never refuse a call to charity, as long as there is a goblet in the house." On another occasion, when a hundred florins were given him, he divided the sum between Philip and Bugenhagen, compelling them to accept his present, for their need was greater than his. At another time two hundred gold pieces were sent him from the mines, and he distributed the whole among the poor students. "The wicked," he would say, "eye their money-chest with self-gratulation and pride, as though they had God Almighty shut up in their coffers. Ah! the Lord flees from a full purse, and his blessing rests on the faithful heart." To complete Luther's character—truthfulness and the simplicity of a child were with him wisdom; he loathed and abhorred duplicity and craft from the bottom of his soul, and his honest deportment was marked by that genial fun and humour which has been called not so much "an accompaniment, as a peculiar manifestation of the spirit of truth." It has been allowed by all his opponents who have known anything of his history, from Erasmus down to the present times, that his conduct personally was unimpeachable—he was pure beyond the taint of suspicion; ever the unfaltering "man of God," bold and courageous to a fault; patient and uncomplaining; and although he fought conflicts enough with all the fire and vehemence of his nature, he warred only with the pen; in act he was ever a peacemaker; his first threat to an adversary was, "I shall write against you;" his second, "I shall cease to pray for you;" his third and final denunci-

ation, "I shall pray against you:" he was passionate, but a word of rebuke would bring him round: Melancthon testifies that he was not dogmatical in familiar conversation, but ever ready to give and take: he was the most self-sacrificing of philanthropists, at the same time that he held the Word of God to be the only remedy for the depravity and misery of human nature. His infirmities, many and great as they were, were virtues grown into exesses.

He lived in the Augustine convent, as one of the old patriarchs might have sat at his tent door receiving all who claimed admission. The convent was an open house—the asylum of the distressed, and the hospital for the sick. Distinguished men from all parts of Europe came to visit the great monk. The social meal was the supper. Luther would come to table weary with the exhausting labours of many hours, generally with a book in his hand, which, for some while, perhaps, he continued to peruse. The Professors of the University, old friends from remote parts—Wenceslaus Link from Nuremberg, or James Probst from Bremen—strangers on a visit of curiosity, or on an embassy from some court, would gather round the hospitable board. At length Luther would lift his eyes from off his book, and inquire the news; that was the signal that he was disposed for conversation, and until that moment a deferential silence had been observed. The conversation soon became general, the respect entertained for the host being evidenced by the appellation by which he was addressed, even by Melancthon and Jonas, of "Reverend Father." As the conversation advanced, Luther's countenance would become more and more animated: his eyes would wear those inner rays of lustre, which, to Link and others of his fanatical admirers, seemed the divine light of prophecy; the energetic expression of his face would soften into one of broad humour and mirth, and the pith and originality of his remarks would rivet the attention of his guests. Or the scene, perhaps,

would be different; eminent scholars, from distant lands, might be present; and Luther would be inquiring, with the most intent interest and solemn gravity, their judgment on the true translation of a word or phrase in the Hebrew Bible, probably the very book he had brought to table with him, and offering his own comments in exchange. The converse ended, Aurifaber, or some other of the company, who had listened with open ears, would hasten to commit to paper what Luther had said, and thus add a new page to the accumulating matter of what will ever be ranked as one of the most interesting books in the German tongue—"Luther's Table Talk." The evening would wind up with a Latin chant, or a German hymn, a chorus of voices, Luther's fine tenor distinguishable amongst them, making the rafters of the old refectory echo with the rapture of harmony and the fervour of devotion. After this, if no pressing work was in hand, Luther would at once retire to rest, not forgetting (Antinomian as he has been called!) among his devotions, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, imploring God to give him grace to keep his law, not only in the letter but in the spirit. He then laid him down in his bed, and employed his last waking thoughts in meditating on some passage of Scripture.

His domestic life, like his character, was the growth of his religious doctrines. He was tenderly attached to Kate, and always spoke of her as the very partner suited to him. "If he should lose her, and a queen should be offered to him, he would refuse her." And although he called her "his Lord Kate," or "Emperor Kate"—jesting at the love of rule common to the sex—he praised her submissiveness and obedience. Household matters he left entirely to her management, for he regarded these as the wife's special province. "Man," he said, "is created with broad shoulders and narrow hips, for activity in the world; woman with narrow shoulders and

broad hips, for staying at home in her proper domestic sphere, guiding the house, and bringing up children" And the internal arrangement of the Augustine convent gave Kate quite enough to do. To a friend who had inquired of Luther what present would be most acceptable to him, he replied, "that he was in want of a candelabrum;" but he added, "You know what sort of a house mine is; let it be a candelabrum that will stand being knocked up and down stairs; and it will answer the purpose better, if it can clean itself." The garden was under Luther's own supervision: he delighted in flowers, which he liked to see as he was studying, on the table near him; and he especially admired the rose. "The man who could make one such flower would deserve an empire:" and the burst and bloom of vegetation always reminded him of redemption and the resurrection. He was an indulgent, but a strict and vigilant father: for the parent, he declared, that neglected to train his children in God's ways, and to restrain them from evil, was "worse than Turk or Tartar." He spoke of the book of Proverbs as the best book on Œconomics in the world; and "its whole substance is summed up in this: 'Fear God.'" He greatly valued the classical languages, uniformly regretting his own deficient education, which had debarred him from the study of the Greek poets and historians; and of all studies, poetry, he said, was his favourite. Mirth, jests, good cheer, pastimes, and music, he regarded as capital expedients for driving away the "proud melancholy Satan." Hence the frequent references in his correspondence to what he ate and drank: in such allusions he was scoffing at Satan. Mathesius relates, that before going to bed he would sometimes call for a glass of must, with an apology to the bystanders, "Old men, like the Elector and myself, have to find pillow and bolster in the can." But Mathesius

agrees with Melancthon in representing him as singularly abstemious and temperate. And although Luther could not see the sin of dances or acting plays, insisting that to be unworldly is to get the world out of one's self, yet in everything the prevailing passion rose to the surface. As when out for the chase, he pursued theology: so his musical compositions, his famous Hymn, and the Old Hundredth, are lasting echoes of his solemn and elevated strain of piety.

Like the defects of his character, the defects of his doctrinal system were chiefly produced by the excess of his zeal in combating error. On the Sacraments his opinions decidedly retrograded. In regard to the sacrament of Baptism, in the beginning of his career as a Reformer, Luther was debating whether the faith of the parents was not accepted by God, in substitution for that of the children taken to the baptismal font; or whether the faith of the Church, which offered them, as it were, with her own hands to Christ, was not set to the infants' account. And in regard to the Lord's Supper he has himself declared, that at that period he should have welcomed the interpretation of Carlstadt and Zwingle with joy. But the outburst of fanaticism at Wittenberg, when Luther was in the Wartburg, not only checked these tendencies to more enlightened sacramental views, but forced him, with great impetus, in the opposite direction. As the wild reveries of the enthusiasts laboured to overthrow the objective character of Christianity, and to substitute an inward varying standard for an unflinching external rule of faith and life, he was resolved, in order to raise a barrier against a subjectiveness which could not rest until it had reached the dead level of infidelity, to place the Sacraments on a basis as firm and unyielding as that of the Word of God itself. Thus, in regard to the Lord's Supper, at the same time that he rejected transubstantiation as not only

of recent introduction, but as utterly unscriptural and idolatrous, he affirmed that both to the godly and to the ungodly the bread and wine are the natural body and blood of Christ, received both with heart and mouth, but with directly opposite effects—by the godly to salvation, by the ungodly to condemnation. In reference to Baptism, he determined that if that sacrament were administered in joke, yet, supposing that to the sprinkling of water the words of Scripture were added—"I baptize thee in the name of the Father," &c., it was valid baptism. And not only so, but even in the case of an adult who had not faith, he maintained that the divine sacrament could not be void. Baptism was an objective reality, like father and mother, or the civil ruler.* In the case of infants, he expressly condemned the theory that faith in the parents is required to render the sacrament effectual to the children, and likewise the teaching of the Waldenses, that the infant is baptized by reason of a prospective faith to be attained on arriving at years of discretion; and he pronounced that to every infant baptism is unconditionally the new birth or regeneration. To the anabaptist objection, that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God," and, therefore, children not having reason to understand the Word, could not have faith, he replied with his deep scriptural wisdom, "What has reason to do with faith? It is the greatest stumbling-block in the world to faith. The big head cannot get through the strait gate. A Christian at all times has the Spirit of God in his heart; yet, when he sleeps, reason is dormant, but faith is never dormant. And why limit God's operations, as though the only hearing of his Word were by the outward ear? If the infant is not regenerated in baptism, let us leave off to baptize infants altogether,

* See his Catechism.—Walch X. p. 162.

the sooner the better, for it is a mimicry and mockery of a holy sacrament."* It is true that in his "Babylonian Captivity," and other earlier writings, he used such terms as:—"Take thy stand on thy Baptism: not on thine own works, thine own sorrow, thine own repentance, but on God's promise:" but, in that treatise he defined a sacrament to be a covenant, whereto there is God's word of promise on the one part, and faith relying on that word on the other part, and he was constantly dwelling on the text, "He that *believeth,* and is baptized, shall be saved." His later theory of Baptism, however, did not militate against the doctrine of conversion. If the baptismal vow were broken by a life of relapse into wilful sin, he insisted on the necessity of true and thorough conversion of heart; but he said, with great truth, that in such a case the re-administration of Baptism was unneeded and unscriptural, because the sacrament made void by sin on man's part, yet remained unalterably firm on God's part. The true Christian was baptized every day, hour, and moment by the Holy Ghost; such was the virtue of the "one baptism." The sacraments represented in picture, or in act, what the Scripture declared in word, and were not only signs, but were assurances and pledges of God's will, on which the soul could build with confidence. Yet, however much the peculiarities of Luther's later views on this subject may be regarded as unsound and erroneous, he effectually relieved the holy of holies of the sacraments from the profanation of the papistical *opus operatum,* by rejecting every notion of any efficacy in the administrator, or in any incantation of consecration, and unreservedly accepting the explanation of Augustin—"The word added to the outward sign

* Church-Postil to the Gospel for the Third Sunday after Epiphany, one of his earlier writings, in which he still speaks of the faith of the sponsors, and of the Church.—Walch XI. pp. 666—681.

makes the sacrament (accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum)." But he had lost sight of that other landmark of Augustin, which his earlier writings had kept steadily in view: "The sacrament is where there is faith (ubi fides, ibi sacramentum.)"

Thus it must be confessed that Luther's later view of the sacrament of Baptism subjected his system of divinity to the charge of obvious inconsistency. Not only did he teach the doctrines of the total Bondage of the Will, of Predestination to Life, and of the Final Perseverance of every true Christian, in conjunction with the strongest asseverations of the Universality of Redemption, and of the necessity of individual watchfulness, of victory over sin, and gradual growth in grace, which are but the two sides of one grand truth, which cannot be conceived of by our present weak understandings in its simple unity. But he also taught the doctrine of Final Perseverance, in conjunction with the doctrines that every baptized infant is regenerated, and yet that many baptized souls perish eternally; a complexity which must seem irreconcilable, not only in terms but in substance, unless it be supposed that he made some such distinction between baptismal regeneration and confirmed regeneration, as was made somewhat later between grace and effectual grace. Whilst asserting that the sacrament of Baptism constitutes a man a Christian, he was continually seeking some more exact test of union with Christ than any sacrament affords; he was not only regretting that excommunication could not be revived, but he was anxious to mark off true Christians from merely nominal and professing Christians, by having different orders of assemblies in the church, so as to get at the inner and true church, disintegrated from the visible mixed church; and in his later, as in his earlier writings, the church was still, not baptized Christians, but "the

universe of predestined souls." "This is a wonderful great acknowledgment," he wrote in his Postil to the Epistle for the Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity, "for a human heart born in sin to be convinced and certain that God, in the depth of his majesty and divine heart, has finally and irrevocably determined, and will have every one receive and believe the same, that He will not reckon to us our sins, but pardon them, and be gracious to us, and give us eternal life for His dear Son's sake." And in the same Postil he says, "Persecution, sword, fire, water, wild beasts, &c., are the true school in which we must learn to acknowledge God's will, so as to be able to say with confidence, 'No, my dear foe, World, Devil, Flesh, thou mayest do me woe, insult, plague, torture me, take from me body and life; but my Lord Christ, that is, God's grace and mercy, that shalt thou never take from me.' Thus faith is taught and strengthened, that this is God's unchangeable will, which He has determined and can never revoke, although He should seem to deal quite otherwise, as He did towards Christ himself: and through such exercise and experience faith becomes so strengthened, that to go to death is joy and delight. Whence comes such courage and confidence, even to little maidens of thirteen and fourteen years old, such as Agnes and Agatha, &c., that they stand so bold before the Romish judge, and sport when they are led to death, as though they were going to a dance, but that the glorious rooted faith and sure confidence has filled their heart, that God is not wroth with them, but His gracious and merciful will is purely for their highest and eternal health and salvation!" "God," he wrote in another place, "only endures with the filth and wickedness of this life for his elects' sake, until their number is complete. Christ's day yet tarries, because they are not all yet born that belong to heaven. But when the time is accomplished, and the number is complete,

then shall all this suddenly be removed, World, Government, Jurist, Magistrate, States, yea, the whole of it; nothing more shall be permitted to remain of this world's righteousness; but all of it, together with the belly, and the belly with it, shall be brought to nought. For it is all damned, and ordained to perdition: but for the sake of the Christians, to whom eternal life is promised, it must have its course, until the period comes, and the last saint is born into the world. But till they all are born, even to the very last soul, the world shall still stand and be upheld for their sakes; for God heeds not and cares not for the whole world, save for the sake of his own true Christians." *

But however incongruous the threads of his system may be, Luther, at least, cannot with any justice be arraigned as a reviler of the sacraments, when he upheld them even to inconsistency, any more than as an Antinomian, when he was the staunchest opponent that the Antinomians encountered, as he has been not only arraigned but condemned by calumniators whose malice, however, is neutralised by their ignorance. It were to be wished that the personal charges of violence and bitterness of language could be as satisfactorily answered; or the imputation that his love of humour did not always restrict itself within the limits of secular subjects. It must be remembered, however, that Luther's faith was a principle so rooted, and so abounding, that he was led practically into a partial mistake as to its proper object, so that he completely identified his own views and convictions with the authoritative declarations of Scripture. With the weakness of the best and strongest natures, to which, moreover, the encomiums and exaggerated estimation formed of him by some of his friends strongly tempted him, he fancied himself not indeed

* Postil to the Epistle for the Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity. Walch. XII. p. 1259.

absolutely infallible, but an infallible interpreter of Scripture on all points of doctrine. It is the delusion by which close students of the Bible have been beguiled in all ages, and has been shared by divines, who certainly would not be worthy to unloose the latchet of Luther's shoe. Hence he justified his use of the most vehement and vituperative language by the example of the Prophets, and even of Jesus Christ himself. Hence he pronounced his anathema on every one who differed from him on the smallest point of Christian doctrine. Hence, in denouncing his religious opponents, he parodied the language of the Psalmist—"Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the Zwinglians," &c. Hence he forbade all future Councils, in a parody of the Papal Bull convoking a Council, which professed to emanate from the Court of Heaven, and was "signed Archangel Raphael, Secretary." Hence, in his famous letter from the Wartburg to Melancthon, he exaggerated the most glorious doctrine of the Christian faith, with a drollery which found large amusement from the contrast between such exaggeration and Philip's well-known character. But such an admission of grievous failure must be much qualified by the consideration of Luther's peculiar work and peculiar character adapting him to his work. Mathesius remarks, that "the hurricane was required to sweep away the snow of many ages." Unless tragedy and comedy had been combined in Luther as in Shakspeare, that compass of power would have been wanting which made him an over-match for Erasmus, as well as for Eck or Carlstadt. And it must after all be matter less for surprise than regret, that like most wits, Luther was not always proof against the temptation of his own faculties; or, with the common infirmity of theologians, his zeal for truth made him blind to the objectionable weapon which he employed in its defence. To this it must be added, that the

scholastic disputations then in use, in which Luther had been trained, and which he employed as means of disseminating his scriptural principles, whatever tendency they may have had to sharpen the observation, had no tendency to produce a correct and discriminating taste, nicely distinguishing the sacred and the profane, the serious and the humourous. His characteristic coarseness, which, however, added force to his jests and sarcasms, is also much palliated by reflections of a similar kind. In his age the mask of outside refinement was not often assumed, even at courts; and he himself owed very little to culture. He was born a peasant, and was educated chiefly in a monastery. And to a considerable extent his very coarseness was the result of his truthfulness. He spoke of men and women just as he found them: exposed the sore as the only way to heal it; and did not blush to use plainness of speech, because he was not conscious of any cause for shame or false delicacy.* Critics writing calmly in the nineteenth century, are apt very unfairly to forget in what age Luther lived, and the imperative demands and harassing trials of his peculiar situation, which drew out all the force of his powerful and various faculties, and left him no time to weigh his words in a "jeweller's scales."

A comparison with any of the leading men of the age, tells greatly to Luther's advantage. "We must not, for the sake of truth, break the public peace;"—"There are those, I trust, who will defend my posthumous reputation;"—said the Prince of letters. "To desire this world's praise," said the Doctor of Wittenberg, "is to crack a rotten nut, and get a mouthful

* Milton has defended Luther from the charge of coarseness. He observes, "The Targumists were of cleaner language than he that made the tongue:" and he says, "There may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth."—See Milton's Apology for Smectymnuus.

of dust." "The doctrine, which pleases men cannot be true: the world is an inn; Satan the landlord; drop in when you will, the landlord is at home." Erasmus, shaking with every breath of wind, writing begging letters to his numerous patrons, asserting that God had not given to every one the courage to be a martyr, and he had himself no inclination to die for truth, is indeed a portrait of timorous feebleness, by the side of the Christian hero of Worms and of Augsburg, whose frequent complaint was that his grievous sins had deprived him of the joy of martyrdom. Nor would Erasmus enjoy such fame as he does in connection with the Reformation, unless, according to the remark of Melancthon, Luther had come immediately after him, and obviated the revolutionary tendency of his writings, by placing the altar and the throne on their true foundations. Melancthon himself, though a far more exact scholar than Luther, or than Erasmus, was the retired student, not the man of action and resolve for stirring times. To Luther, every parlour in Wittenberg was familiar; the regret is entered in his correspondence, from the period of his arriving there fresh from Erfurth, how much of his time is lost by his multitudinous invitations. Melancthon, on the contrary, thought the conversation of the town society "very common-place;" and when Luther, Cruciger, and Jonas, were absent, he sat, as he says of himself, "like a lame cobbler at home," and wrote some Greek verses, or communicated to Camerarius or Eoban Hess, a conjectural emendation of a passage in Theocritus or Hesiod. Melancthon believed in astrology; there is a letter of his in which he requests that the horoscope of King Ferdinand may be sent to him; and he held the punishment of heretics to be a religious duty. Luther, on the contrary, took every opportunity to overcome the popular superstitions, and upheld the Christian principle of religious

toleration in an age of barbarity. And perhaps nothing places Luther's character in a more amiable light than his deep affection for Philip, resembling that of a father for a son, which continued unabated even when Melancthon advocated Episcopacy, spoke ambiguously on the subject of Justification, and even finally inclined towards the Swiss view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Again, as compared with Zwingle, Luther is the religious and political conservative, in opposition to the destructive and republican. Zwingle wished to clear the entire area of the Church, not to leave a stone standing, to make way for a completely new edifice, modelled on his own views of Scripture. With Luther, on the other hand, hatred of Rome was only the result of a love of Christianity: whatever could be left standing, he would have untouched. "Where is this or that practice enjoined in Scripture?" the Swiss inquired: "Where is it forbidden in Scripture?" Luther retorted. "The Gospel must be aided by the sword," said Zwingle. "God saith, 'Be still, and know that I am God,'" Luther answered. And it is an instructive chapter in the book of Providence, that the champion of the sword fell on the field of battle; the champion of the Word, after a few hours' illness, attended with comparatively little suffering, was translated in perfect peace.

There are, however, some persons who imagine that one blemish on a fame, otherwise the purest and most unsullied, has a damning virtue that turns everything to its own blackness. And such a blemish on the reputation of Luther, they conceive that they have detected in the sanction given by him to the double marriage of the Landgrave of Hesse. Many, with the Jesuitical Bossuet, affirm that Luther conceded this liberty to the Landgrave against his own convictions, in order to prevent the defection of Philip of Hesse from the evangelical ranks: others, with the very ill-

informed Sir William Hamilton, have broached the calumny that the Reformers were, on principle, abettors of the practice of polygamy. These accusations cannot, at least, be true together; and a minute investigation of the subject has proved that they are both false. It would, indeed, be a poisoned arrow in the Papist quiver, if it could be shown that the adulation and truckling subserviency to those in power, which form part in the Romish artillery of pious frauds, are vices shared by popes, monks, and prelates, in common with such a man as Luther; and that the Reformer, whose whole bearing towards the Electors of Saxony is an admirable exemplification of the precept, to render to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to God what is God's, and who in every other instance opposed the Landgrave's exceptionable designs, and had certainly no partiality for the "Macedonian," had nevertheless, on one occasion, so far forgotten himself and the truth, as to fear offending Philip of Hesse more than the reproach of his own conscience. In common sense, such an extraordinary solution ought not to be resorted to, unless it is inevitable; and it falls entirely to the ground, when the letter of dispensation to Philip is compared with Luther's writings of various dates, some of them composed many years previously, which demonstrate that he did not forge any new doctrine to suit the Landgrave's case, but acted in the most conscientious manner, by applying to circumstances, which he believed to be *exceptional*, an indulgence which he had uniformly held to be permissible *exceptionally*. The practice of the Patriarchs, and of the Jewish Kings, seemed to him proofs of this. As to abetting polygamy, it was for the express object of preventing a precedent being drawn, as he foresaw it readily would be, from an exceptional dispensation, that Luther conceded only "a *secret* right," insisting that the whole transaction must remain covered with the mantle of

oblivion, and admonished the Landgrave, "If the princes call upon you to put away Margaret Sala, tell them you will do so, when *they* put away their concubines." And when Bucer, in his servility to the Landgrave, published a defence of polygamy under the fictitious name of "Neobulus Tulichius," Luther's indignation was kindled to a tempest; and he set himself to write an answer, which was suppressed by the Landgrave's solicitations to the Elector, but the unfinished work is extant among Luther's writings, and contains the following passage:—"Whoso desires my judgment upon this book let him hear it. Thus says Dr. Martin about the book of Neobulus, 'Whoso follows this knave and book, and takes more than one wife, and will have that it is a right, the devil bless his bath in the depths of hell. Amen.' This know I well, God be praised! to maintain, even though it should snow pure Neobuluses, Nebulos, Tulrichs, along with pure devils for a whole year long. No one shall make me a right thereout, that will I well forefend. Much less shall any one make this into a right, that a man may separate himself from his own wife rightfully, (if she has not first separated herself from him by adultery,) which this book would also fain teach." He goes on to say, "There is a great difference between right and dispensation, tolerance and permission: right is no dispensation; dispensation is no right; and he who gets anything by dispensation, does not get it by right." Nor was there ever the least scruple in Luther's mind as to the path he had followed in this affair:—"I can answer," he said, "for what I have done to God, but I cannot answer for it to the world." A grievous error of judgment still remains to Luther's account in this deplorable transaction:*

* See, for a minute investigation of Luther's whole conduct in the affair, the inimitable "Vindication of Luther against his recent English Assailants," by the late Archdeacon Hare, pp. 225—274.

but like his view of the sacraments, his regarding the Lord's day as little more than an ecclesiastical institution, and his other various defective appreciations of truth, it is an error into which he was led by the corrupt teaching and the perverted practice of the Romish Church. He said of himself that he could not quite forget all that he had been taught as a monk.

But after all that may be said against Luther on such a score, must not the moral and religious character of that man stand high indeed, who, although involved in a whirlpool of business and troubles his whole life long, is not open to any weightier imputation? And must not the grace of God's Spirit have indeed been mighty in him, who, born in the depth of Papist darkness, reared all his early life in its thick and yet thicker shadow of death, groped his way gradually out of it, and attained to such a measure as he did of the pure light of truth?

Immediately upon Luther's death, an express was sent to the Elector of Saxony with intelligence of the mournful event, and a request from the Counts of Mansfeld that his remains might be permitted to rest at Eisleben, the place of his birth and decease. The evening of the same day, the Elector's reply was received, expressing his deep grief, and requiring that the body be conveyed to Wittenberg to be deposited in the Church of All Saints. "Would," he could not refrain from adding, "that the Counts of Mansfeld had not entangled in their private affairs a man worn out with age and toil!" The news of Luther's death soon spread: Melanethon received the intelligence with the words, "The chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" and the same exclamation was heard from all sides. By the Elector's order the body was placed in a leaden coffin, and on the evening of the 18th the lying-in-state took place, when many hundreds of men and women,

and many of the nobility, were admitted into Dr. Drachstedt's house to take a last gaze on the clay of the German prophet: and two painters copied with their best art the features of the deceased; one an inhabitant of Eisleben, very shortly after death, another from Halle, when the remains had been in the coffin a night. The next day the corpse was carried to St. Andrew's Church, Eisleben, amidst a large attendance of noblemen and citizens, besides a vast assemblage of the poorer orders, who hurried to the spot from all parts; and a funeral sermon was delivered by Dr. Jonas from 1 Thess. iv. 13—18. When the sermon was over, and the crowd had dispersed, ten citizens remained behind in the church to keep watch over the corpse during the night. The next morning, Saturday, a Feb. 20. sermon was preached by the pastor of Eisleben, Michael Cœlius, from Isaiah lvii. 1, 2. Cœlius related how gently and happily Luther had fallen asleep in Christ. In the afternoon the Prince of Anhalt, the Reformer's old friend and pupil, all the Counts of Mansfeld, with their wives, sons and daughters, the Count of Schwartzburg, and many citizens, with honourable matrons, formed in procession, and with great pomp and lamentation the corpse was conveyed from the church to the city gate; and thence under a chosen escort, the bells tolling in all the villages through which it passed, the same evening to Halle. Here an immense throng of country people from the neighbourhood, with the preachers, the town council, and the schools of Halle had assembled at the gate; and about five o'clock the procession was seen approaching. It moved forward to funeral hymns and the tolling of bells, towards the Church of the Virgin, but encountered such obstacles from the vast concourse of spectators that it was often stationary, and occupied more than two hours in its progress to the church. It was too late for a sermon, and after the choir had sung one of Luther's

hymns (Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir), with voices which, contemporaries say, seemed to wail rather than sing, the multitude separated, and a guard of citizens was left in charge of the corpse. The next morning, Sunday, at six o'clock, the funeral procession with the same solemnity moved through the city to the gate towards Bitterfeld, which it reached about noon, having been met on the confines by the prefect of Wittenberg and other deputies of the Elector of Saxony; and that evening remained at Kemberg. The next day John and John Hoyer, Counts of Mansfeld, with their forty-five armed horsemen, to whom the duty of conducting the Reformer's remains to their last resting-place had been assigned, entered Wittenberg by the Elster-gate. Twenty-five years before, Luther had burnt the Pope's Bull near that very gate. And now the rector, and professors, and students of the University, the Town Council, citizens, and a vast crowd of people were waiting there to receive his mortal remains with all the honour that they could pay to the memory of a universal benefactor. As the procession drew near it was joined by Kate Luther, with her daughter and three sons. The procession to All Saints' Church was as follows:—The Prefect of Wittenberg, and the deputation from the Elector, with the Counts of Mansfeld and the horsemen preceded the carriage on which the coffin was borne, covered with a pall of black velvet. Kate Luther immediately followed the corpse in a very humble carriage, with her daughter and several matrons; then John, Martin, and Paul, with their uncle James Luther, and George and Syriac Kauffmann, the Reformer's nephews. Next came the rector, and University, including princes, counts, barons, the Chancellor Bruck, Melancthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Cruciger; then the city functionaries; and after these the whole body of students: and finally, a mixed group of men, women, and children, who,

by their demeanour, showed that they wished to be ranked among the mourners. Such a vast multitude had never before met in Wittenberg. The spot in All Saints' Church which the Elector had chosen for Luther's grave was on the right side of the pulpit; and when the coffin had been carried into the church, and placed before the pulpit, the service was begun with funeral chants: after which Bugenhagen addressed the thousands who were assembled, taking as his text, 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14; but so much was he affected and interrupted by his tears, that although Luther used to say his discourses were very good, but far too long, his sermon was unusually short, and he almost forgot his text entirely. After the sermon Melancthon delivered the funeral oration, speaking of Luther as one of that glorious company of Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, who had been God's special witnesses on earth, and comparing himself and his hearers to children witnessing the obsequies of a most excellent and faithful parent. "But let us all, he continued, join in this prayer: 'We thank thee, Almighty God, together with thy co-eternal Son and Holy Spirit, that thou hast gathered for thyself an inheritance from mankind, and hast been pleased to revive thy Church by the instrumentality of Martin Luther. Great dangers threaten it; foreign enemies, domestic wars, and bitter controversies, which, now that Luther is gone, will increase to greater boldness. O God! avert these perils; preserve and rule thy Church; and grant us never to forget that as long as we retain, hear, learn, and love the pure doctrine of thy Gospel, we shall ever be thy Church." At the close of the oration, the coffin was lowered into the grave by Masters of the University. And fourteen years later the remains of Melancthon were laid side by side with those of his old colleague in the cause of Christ.

A stone was placed over Luther's grave, simply recording

his name, the place of his decease, and the age at which he died. It was intended by the Elector, that the inscription on this slab should be in brass, and a very costly work was prepared, which, however, in the troubles that followed, was never put over the grave: but in the last century it might be seen at Jena. A copper tablet was also let into the south wall of All Saints' Church, bearing Luther's chosen cognizance, the Rose and Cross, with a long Latin inscription, enumerating his services in the cause of religion. And a picture was placed in All Saints' Church representing Luther preaching, Melancthon baptizing, and Bugenhagen pronouncing absolution on the penitent, and rejecting the impenitent. Luther's resting-place was respected, when John Frederic became a captive to the Emperor at Mulhausen, and Wittenberg was occupied by the soldiers of Duke Maurice: only his portrait bore the marks of the malice of an individual soldier, probably a Spaniard, who pierced the neck and breast with his stiletto.

A few words in conclusion about Kate Luther and her children. To make provision for the Reformer's widow, the Elector contributed 2000 florins, and the Counts of Mansfeld the same sum: and, after a time, the property at Wittenberg, which had been bequeathed to her entirely, was sold: and she removed to Torgau, where she resided in comfortable independence until her death, December 20, 1552. John Luther was not found to possess much capacity for learning: he did not, therefore, prosecute his studies, but was appointed to a sinecure post in the court of John Frederic, and when that prince was deprived of his electorate, he obtained a similar appointment in the court of his father's old friend, the Duke of Prussia. John married the only daughter of Caspar Cruciger, and had by her a daughter, who died childless. Martin became a theologian, but from weak health, led a

private life at Wittenberg, and although he married, died childless. Paul, the youngest son, was distinguished as a professor of medicine at Jena, and was physician to several princely and electoral houses: he was eminent for his piety, and the staunchness with which he maintained his father's sentiments on justification by Christ alone, and the grace of the Sacraments. He married Anna Warbeck, the daughter of the Saxon Chancellor, and had issue by her, four sons, of whom only one, John Ernest, Canon of Zeitz, the father of John Martin Luther, Seckendorf's friend, lived to grow up, and two daughters. Margaret married George von Cunheim, a personage of note and high authority in Prussia; and from her and her brother Paul there are numerous descendants at the present day, of the greatest of the Reformers.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

VOL. I. page 316, Note.

For " The account of the colloquy with Satan did not appear in any earlier edition of the work than that of 1533," &c.

Read " The account of the colloquy with Satan appears in Luther's treatise on the Private Mass and Ordination of Priests, published in 1533," &c.

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